



# The Antiquary.



NOVEMBER, 1885.

## Extracts from Diaries of Early Travel.

### I.—THE JAPANESE AMONGST THE JESUITS.

**I**N the year 1582 the Jesuits, who had for years carried on mission-work in Japan, induced three kings to send an embassy to Europe to present their allegiance to the Holy See. A Jesuit Father was always in attendance on the four Japanese who were chosen for this mission, and from his diary, written at considerable length, the following experiences are taken.

On the 20th of February the ambassadors left Japan on a Portuguese trading-ship; they had to tarry nine months at the Portuguese settlement of Macao, awaiting a ship to take them to India, which time they employed in the study of Latin, and in writing in European characters. Many months' delay was caused by contrary winds, but they passed a pleasant time at Goa, where the Portuguese viceroy, Don Francesco Mascaregna, received them with every honour, placing gold chains, with relics attached, round their necks. They had to return from India to Cochin, the then centre of Portuguese trade, on purpose to catch a fleet of five vessels freighted with spices, which was bound for Europe; and not till the 20th of February, 1584, the second anniversary of their departure from Japan, were the travellers able to start definitely for Europe. On the 10th of April they rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and in doing so encountered a fearful gale; and then we have an account of the grand festivities held after this danger was passed, and of

VOL. XII.

the presents which everybody on board gave to the pilot.

St. Helena was their next halting-place. "An island," says the diary, "placed by Divine Providence in mid-ocean for the benefit of mariners, abounding in figs, oranges, lemons, and, above all, in fresh water. The first who made this place so convenient was a Portuguese soldier, in the year 1512, who, on returning from India, elected to stay there in solitude by way of penance for his sins. He took a vast quantity of goats, hens, and such animals, also seeds of herbs; and owing to the fertility of the country these things multiplied rapidly. After this man died, the King of Portugal prohibited anyone to dwell there, and ordered that all these provisions should be free for the ships, which wait for one another here, in order that they may make the rest of their voyage together, for fear of the corsairs, which are waiting to rob them."

At St. Helena the Japanese fished and hunted a great deal, besides attending Mass every day in a little chapel erected for the purpose.

The ships landed the Japanese at Lisbon on the 10th of August, 1584, "having accomplished the voyage from Japan to Europe," says the diary, "in the surprising short time of two years and a half." Here the Jesuit Fathers immediately took possession of them, and conveyed them to the Convent of San Rocco, where sumptuous apartments had been prepared; and they stayed twenty days there to rest after their long voyage, and to visit the sights of the place. The governor of the kingdom, Cardinal d'Austria, received them kindly, gave them handsome presents, and received in return from the Japanese a cup of rhinoceros horn, mounted in silver. On the 5th of September they set off again in a carriage belonging to Don Teotino di Braganza, Archbishop of Evoca, who wished to entertain them at his own house at Evoca; but, says the diary, "according to their custom they went to the house of the Company of Jesus," and were only permitted to dine with the archbishop one day after attending a great ceremony in the church. "The archbishop's table was well spread, and lovely music played the while; but what interested them most was a table set out near them, at which the

O

archbishop entertained twelve poor beggars, waiting upon them himself, and expounding the Scriptures during the meal, after which he washed their feet, and sent them away with his blessing, to the great admiration of the Japanese."

At Villa Vitiosa the Duke of Braganza received them most cordially; he got up a wild-boar hunt for their special edification, and his wife covertly took a pattern of their dress, and made a suit for her second son, Don Duarte, who appeared in it, to the great astonishment of the strangers. Their progress to Madrid was one scene of festivities; relics were exposed for them, special masses were sung in every church, and crowds came forth to gaze on these first representatives of their race who had appeared in Europe.

The 12th of November was the day appointed for a solemn interview with King Philip II. "They wore their white silk robes, all woven with various colours, and figures of birds, flowers, and leaves scattered thereover. This was a long flowing robe, open in front, and with sleeves only reaching to the elbow, while the rest of the arm was bare; their scimitars were inlaid with precious stones, and their whole appearance created such a profound impression on the Spaniards present, that scarce a breath was heard as they passed on to the royal palace. So intent were the bystanders in gazing, that they generally drove about in a closed coach to escape observation."

On this occasion the royal guard had much to do to check the crowd; they passed through twelve rooms before reaching the king's reception-room, where they handed to his Majesty letters from the sovereigns, kissed his hand, gave him a present, and were received most graciously—"so graciously," says the diary, "that all the countries expressed great surprise at the unwonted affability of the taciturn king." Afterwards the king led them to his private chapel, where vespers were sung by two of the best choirs of Madrid; the Japanese sat on seats close to the high altar, and the chapel was crowded with nobility. It was night before they reached home, and the Jesuits illuminated their church with torches to receive them after so much honour had been paid to them by the king.

Much is told us of their admiration on visiting the Escorial, the royal armoury, and treasury, and a "detailed account is given of their further travels through Spain; how at Alcala the Rector of the University prepared for them a theological dispute between two learned divines; during the wrangling the Japanese sat and listened attentively, but the writer of the diary doubts if they understood much of what was going on. When the dispute was over the Master of the Ceremonies gave the Japanese a pair of gloves on a silver basin, as it was the custom to do when the king attended like discussions. At Origuella the citizens celebrated a game or tournament by torchlight beneath their windows, to the great delectation of the strangers; and passing through numerous towns, where they were received in similar fashion, they reached Alicante, from whence they sailed for Italy, reaching Leghorn on the 1st of March, 1585, having narrowly escaped from corsairs, which the Bey of Algiers had sent out expressly to capture them.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany sent two coaches, and an English gentleman who was at his court at the time, to fetch them to Pisa, where he was then residing. Their first visit was to the cathedral, where they went to return thanks for their safety; and in the evening they were conducted by torchbearers to the ducal palace, where they were warmly received, and invited to spend the Carnival week, when every kind of sport was arranged for them in the duke's hunting-grounds.

On Ash Wednesday morning the more serious duties of their religious mission began. They sat by the ducal throne in the Church of St. Stephen at Pisa, and witnessed the annual ceremony at which the Knights of the Order of St. Stephen took ashes, and did homage to their grand master, the duke himself, who was dressed for the occasion in long flowing robes of white. Next day they set off for Florence, and spent five days there, devoting their time exclusively to religion, visiting the churches, worshipping relics, and making themselves acquainted with the ritual of the Holy Church.

Pope Gregory XIII. awaited the pilgrims, who had come from so far to worship him, at Siena, and accompanied them to Rome in

person. At each town on the way the crowds and enthusiasm exceeded anything they had yet seen; and finally, on the 22nd of March, they reached the Eternal City, "the goal for which they had travelled so long and so far."

The description of their sojourn here is described at very minute length, and a most interesting account it is, for they were received in full consistory, for which purpose the Sala Regia was thrown open. During their stay Gregory XIII. died, and they assisted at the election of his successor.

On arrival the Father-General of the Jesuits met them, and the quadrangle of the college was brilliantly illuminated with torches as they were conducted to the adjoining church, where a *Te Deum* was sung to them as they knelt on four velvet cushions; and the diary tells us how tears of joy and gratitude flowed from their eyes. Every luxury was lavished on the adornment of their apartments.

Next morning Pope Gregory held his consistory. The Japanese were driven in a coach secretly to a spot termed the "Vineyard of Pope Julius," just outside the Porta del Popolo, where kings, cardinals, and ambassadors were wont to make their public entry into Rome. One of the Japanese, called by his Christian name Don Manlio in the diary, had a fever at the time, and the doctors admonished him not to go; but so great was his enthusiasm that he could not be prevented, declaring that the sight of the Pope would cure him. His weakness increased so greatly that he was unable to sit on his horse, so Monsignore Pinto conveyed him to the consistory in a covered carriage, and during the remainder of his travels he felt the evil results of his folly.

The three others on horseback were joined by a numerous accompaniment of cardinals outside the gate, and the Bishop of Fiesole on behalf of the Pope bade them welcome to Rome; and then the procession began—a glorious *cortège* from the description given. In the Sala Regia the Japanese were led up to the Pope's throne, where three times they rapturously embraced his foot, delivered to him letters from their sovereigns, and offered to the "Vicar of Christ and universal Pastor" homage in the name of the kings of Japan. The Pope read aloud the letters, and a Jesuit Father pronounced an oration in Latin, giving a glowing account of the Japanese mission,

and after the conclusion of the ceremony the pilgrims had the honour of holding up the train of the papal mantle, and of being invited to dine at the Vatican with several cardinals, who were struck, says the diary, with "their prudence of speech, and with their cleanliness and modesty in eating."

Next day, the Feast of the Annunciation, they went with the Pope to Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva, and were so much molested by the crowds that henceforth they gave up wearing their national dress, and Pope Gregory sent them three suits of clothes in the Italian fashion: "one a court dress, and another a long black velvet robe embroidered with gold and coloured damask, and a dressing-gown of the same material and equally handsome trimmings for indoor wear; and as a further mark of favour he sent them the choicest of fish for their Lenten board."

It is interesting to read how energetic the Japanese were in sight-seeing, and the Pope deputed his master of the chamber to conduct them through the galleries and churches. "Adagio, Adagio, so that each gem might be studied in its turn."

"It was with the greatest grief," says the diary, "that the Japanese heard on the 10th of April of the death of the Pope; they felt as if their own father was dead, and that they were left orphans. So great was their distress that it was thought necessary to send Monsignore Sasso to console them. Divine Providence was not long in consoling his afflicted Church. On the 13th of April Sixtus V. came out of the conclave as a new father to the mourning Japanese."

Sixtus V. was equally kind to them; they assisted the other ambassadors in carrying the baldacchino over his head; they gave water into his hands at the mass, and the Pope not only confirmed a gift of 4,000 scudi, which his predecessor had promised for the Japanese mission, but added 2,000 more from his own purse. To their three kings the Pope sent as gifts three rapiers, with the hilts and scabbards of silver gilt, beautifully wrought, and caps of velvet covered with pearls, such as the Popes were wont to bless annually, and to send to sovereigns of Europe as a mark of special favour.

Besides this, he gave the Japanese for their own private travelling expenses 3,000 scudi,

and made them Knights of the Golden Spurs with his own hands, on the vigil of the Ascension, in the presence of all the cardinals, princes, and ambassadors; the Pope himself girt them with the sword of office, whilst the ambassadors of France and Venice fastened it. Finally, the Pope cast around their necks golden collars, and embraced them. Through their interpreter they promised not only to defend the Christian religion with sword and spurs, but to pour out their own blood if necessary in its defence.

Before leaving Rome the Japanese publicly took leave of the people assembled in the Campidoglio, where many congratulatory speeches were made to them, and a richly adorned parchment was presented to them, making them Roman citizens. In the response to this their interpreter said, "Rome had reason to be proud of having once ruled the world with her arms, but now the Holy Faith had added additional laurels to her crown, and had extended her dominions even to the Island of Japan."

On their departure Sixtus V. gave them an unlimited number of indulgences, and a guard of honour to conduct them to the confines of the papal territory.

The annals of their journey through Italy give us an interesting insight into contemporary customs. At Venice their reception by the Doge surpassed almost everything else in magnificence. Every treasure the city possessed was brought forth to make the pageant effective as it went up the canals, in which the diary tells us 10,000 people took a part; boats with tableaux representing Scriptural scenes, martyrdoms, passion plays, and such-like things floated down the streets; and last of all, a boat with representations of the four Japanese being blessed by the Pope, passed before them. "Nothing," says the diary, "during the whole of their long voyage gave them so much pleasure as this."

At Mantua a Hebrew Rabbi was publicly received into the bosom of the Church for their edification, and Don Manlio was asked to stand as godfather, and to give the proselyte his name. "The Japanese was shy," says the diary, "but they continued pressing him to give this lasting memorial of his visit, and the Hebrew Rabbi was received into the Church under the name of Michele Manlio."

One town vied with the other in doing honour to the strangers, and the diary of their progress through Italy and their return through Spain, which country they did not leave till 13th of August, 1586, forms a valuable insight into mediæval life.

J. THEODORE BENT.



## Municipal Offices.

As the national customs which belong to the lowest range of machinery are subject to the fewest organic changes, these courts have continued to exist until the present day. . . . In the courts of the manor are transacted . . . the election of the capital-pledges of frankpledges, of *plebiscitarii* or by-law men, ale-tasters, constables, and other officers of a character of which nine-tenths of Englishmen know nothing. . . . Nor can the importance of this point be exaggerated, when we look further on and see in these local gatherings the chief element in the origination of the borough system of the later date.—Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, cap. v. sec. 42.

### I.—INTRODUCTION.



**F** CANNOT introduce more favourably to the contributors and readers of the *ANTIQUARY* the scheme which

I am about to lay before them, than by stating that it has received the most cordial approval of one who has done more than any other worker to promote the study of Municipal Institutions, and to reveal to us its interest and its value. For myself it is a pleasure to express my sense of the importance of Mr. Gomme's labours, and of the debt of gratitude due to him from those who are engaged in this branch of historical research.

Like Mr. Gomme, I soon became conscious that the scientific study of this important subject was rendered for the present virtually impossible, by a difficulty which confronts every student at the very threshold of his inquiries. This difficulty consists in the recent origin of this special department of research, and in the consequent lack of trustworthy *data* on which to base his conclusions. If, then, we would advance in this study beyond the empirical stage, we must at once begin from the beginning. First let us lay our foundations; then, upon these foundations, we may raise a stable edifice.



The first step in this direction was taken by Mr. Gomme himself, when he issued his *Index to Municipal Offices*.<sup>\*</sup> This, which is at present the best handbook for all students of the subject, consists of an alphabetical list of all Municipal Offices named in the Appendices to the First Report of the Commissioners of 1835, prefaced by an Introduction from Mr. Gomme's pen. To that Introduction I would refer those readers who desire further information, as I merely propose to carry out what has there been so well begun.

"It can only," says Mr. Gomme of his Index, "be suggestive of what may possibly hereafter be done upon the lines now indicated." The imperfections of the lists at his disposal are alluded to by him, and I would here briefly enumerate what I consider their chief shortcomings. Firstly, their scope is only partial, being confined to the 178 Boroughs reported on. Secondly, they, apparently, are not exhaustive; and, moreover, the offices omitted, though now effete survivals, are precisely those which to the student are the most interesting. Thirdly, they of course wholly omit offices extinct before the date of the Report, being precisely those which have most to teach us on an earlier stage of society. Fourthly, their mere lists of names are to a great extent valueless without that explanation of the meaning of the words, and of the duties of those who held the offices, which in the case of the older and obscurer names none but those with local knowledge can be fully competent to give. "This part of the subject," says Mr. Gomme, "most certainly wants attention; for we may turn in vain to the pages of Nares, Cowell, and Jacob for an explanation of some of the titles to be found in the list."

I now come to the plan of action which has occurred to me as the best suited to promote the object in view, and which, at Mr. Gomme's invitation, I bring forward in the ANTIQUARY'S pages.

I propose that typical communities should be selected, and that exhaustive lists of the Municipal Offices which have existed in them from the earliest times down to the Municipal Reform Act should be compiled by writers specially qualified by the necessary local knowledge. These lists should be care-

<sup>\*</sup> *Index Society Publications*, 1878 (III.).

fully annotated with descriptions, where necessary, of the office and its duties, with the earliest and latest dates at which the office is found in existence, with modes of election, where curious or noteworthy, and with other similar information.

The time has, I think, now come when this scheme can be taken in hand. It will be assisted by, and will in turn assist, the growing interest in the subject, while the materials which are now beginning to accumulate in publications dealing with Municipal Archives and in the Reports of the Commissioners on Historical Manuscripts render it the more desirable that we should now attempt a scientific treatment of the subject, and establish some sound general principles for dealing with these materials as they accumulate.

It is, of course, to the comparative method that we must, here as elsewhere, look for obtaining these general principles, and I feel confident that as we proceed we shall be able, by grouping Municipal Offices on a sufficiently extensive scale, according to resemblance and also to locality, to secure results of real value, providing the English historian of the future with a fund of virtually novel and peculiarly welcome information. How much light may thus be thrown on our Institutional History Dr. Stubbs has already shadowed forth. But he, like others, was hampered by the lack of recorded phenomena. Useful and instructive as are existing survivals, they are as nothing compared with those phenomena which we may yet hope to recover. I would here refer to Mr. Seebohm's *Village Community in England*, as illustrating what may be done by similar scientific treatment. With Municipal Institutions, in the same way, it should be possible to work back from the known to the unknown, and, by classification on Mr. Gomme's lines, to trace, in the various groups of offices, various stages of corporate development, each of which, in spirit as in form, has influenced all that followed.

I have little doubt that such an inquiry will, in the main, confirm Mr. Gomme's well-known views. It is in detail only, I think, that they will be modified, some offices perhaps having been claimed as evidence, which in the light of fuller knowledge will assume a

different aspect. But here again, I repeat, it is local knowledge that we want. Without such knowledge we may grope in the dark, or, worse still, follow an *ignis fatuus*. Who, for instance, without local knowledge, would suppose that the Mayor of Overton dated only from "a convivial party" in 1830,\* that the Mayor of Garrett was a mock-Mayor,† that the Mayor and Corporation of St. Pancras, Chichester, with its Town-Clerk, Common Council, Serjeants-at-mace, etc., was wholly a convivial institution, dating from "the glorious Revolution,"‡ or that "the Mayor and Corporation of the ancient Borough of Walton," with its mace, staves, and sword of state, was nothing but a similar parody, started in the opposite or Jacobite interest in 1701?§ Who, again, without such knowledge, could give us an explanation of such obscure offices as the "Picager" of Salisbury and the "Bottle-maker" of Colchester, neither of them, it is said, known elsewhere? I shall now give an instance or two of the offices with which it is proposed to deal, in illustration not only of the interest of the subject, but also of its bearing on constitutional history and the development of our social polity.

Mr. Gomme classes the "Deciners" of Burton-on-Trent (p. 56) with the "Dozeners" of Lichfield (*ib.*) and the "Dozeners" (or "Inspectors of Pinders") of Derby (p. 57), and lays it down that *Dozener* is "a corrupted form of *Deciner* (*Decennarius*)," both names belonging "to that system of mutual pledging known as frith-borh, or frank-pledge" (p. 23).

Now if this were so, we should here have evidence of considerable value bearing on those obscure and disputed institutions, the "tithing" and the "frank-pledge." But, in the first place, Mr. Gomme has, I think, misread the passage he refers to in Dr. Stubbs's work; for so far from the "frith-borh or frank-pledge," as he claims, "belonging to Anglo-Saxon polity," we are told by Dr. Stubbs that of this institution "there is no definite trace before the Norman Conquest;"|| or, indeed, he appears to hold, before "the middle of the

twelfth century;"\* and, in the second place, although Mr. Gomme gives us the form *decennarius*, he gives no authority for its use, while in the very "article of the laws of Edward the Confessor," to which he himself refers, "the chief of the frank-pledge" is termed, not *decennarius*, but *decanus*.†

It would seem that at Lichfield the "dozeners" (or "decenners") were in a position of some authority as constables or heads of the watch.‡ This explanation of their office at once suggests a comparison with the twenty-man, or *vintenarius*, of the south coast,§ and so throws further doubt on their connection with the institution of the frank-pledge.

One might even be tempted to believe, if one could, that the "Dozener," or "Deciner," is a trace of an even older and more interesting institution. The explanation of the name, I once thought, might be found in "the *Duodecenarii* or *Dozen* of Jurors on the homage," who actually occur at Rye.|| It seemed to me that "Deciners" might represent a corruption, and "Dozeners" an excellent translation, of *Duodecenarii*. But this I now doubt. We have a remarkable parallel to the "Dozeners" in the "municipal officers called "Douzeniers" of Jersey,¶ where "Douzaine" similarly seems the natural origin of the name. It may be observed that a body of twelve men must have been early known as a "dozen," for "Fleta speaks of the frank-pledges as *dozeins*," implying that there were twelve, not ten, in each.\*\*

The several members of such a "Dozen" might each be known as a "Dozener."

\* *Const. Hist.* [1874], i., p. 89.

† *Select Charters*, p. 75. Cf. *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 86, note 1.

‡ "The dozeners, decenners, or constables of wards, in number twenty-one; who formerly had considerable authority, taking cognisance of all causes within their decennary or ward, redressing wrongs by way of judgment, and commanding the armed men of their district."—*Short Account of Lichfield* [1819], p. 86.

§ John Hughelyn presented at New Romney for that he "contradicted his twentyman [*vintenario*] and the Jurats in making watch of the same town." Another man "arrested because he left the watch without leave of his twenty-man [*vintenarii*]."—*App. to 5th Report Hist. MSS.*, pp. 538, 543.

|| *App. to 5th Report Hist. MSS.*, p. 489.

¶ *Quarterly Review* (July, 1885), No. 321.

\*\* *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 86, note.

\* *Index of Municipal Offices*, p. 11, note.

† *Book of Days; Antiquary*, xii., p. 108.

‡ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxiv., pp. 135–138.

§ *Baines' Lancashire*, iv. 329–380.

|| *Const. Hist.* [1874], i., p. 87.

This, then, would at once have brought the "Dozeners" into connection with "the Twelve" of Beccles (p. 75), and "the Twelve Affering-men" of Berwick-upon-Tweed (pp. 33, 37). But we need only take the county of Sussex to be struck by the importance and wide extension of this remarkable institution. Passing westward from Rye, with its "Dozen" of jurors, we come to Lewes, with its "Twelve," or "Fellowship of Twelve," for its ruling body down to little more than a century ago;\* Brighton with its "Twelve," or "Society of Twelve," lasting on till about the same time;† and Arundel, with its "Twelve," or "Afferors," lasting on till the end of the chapter.‡ This last example brings us at once into connection, on the one hand, with the "Afferors" of Clitheroe, and on the other with "the Twelve Affering-men" of Berwick-upon-Tweed.

Moreover, we learn that at Lewes "the Twelve" were "never so few as twelve nor more than twenty-four,"§ while at Arundel, though similarly terming themselves "Twelve," they almost always exceeded that number, being "frequently fourteen, and sometimes eighteen, in number."|| This suggests not only the need for caution in accepting as accurate these conventional numbers, but also the possibility, by local research, of tracing such bodies as "the Fifteens" of Kingston (p. 86), or even "the Twenty-men" of Totnes (p. 75),¶ to an original "Twelve."

Again, if the deviation of Dozeners from the institution of the "Dozen" be inadmissible, it is, in any case, of interest to note that Burton-on-Trent, with its "Deciners," is situated near to, and between, Lichfield and Derby, with their respective "Dozeners." This illustrates the importance, as we extend our information, of grouping "municipal offices" by localities, and the likelihood of thus obtaining most interesting results.

\* *History of Lewes* (1795), pp. 190—215; *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxi., p. 90.

† *History of Brighthelmston* [1795], pp. 470, 496, 500, 518. This should be carefully noticed as an instance of important municipal offices expiring too early to appear in the Report on Municipal Corporations.

‡ Tierney's *Arundel*, pp. 692—705.

§ *History of Lewes* [1795], p. 191.

|| Tierney's *Arundel*, pp. 692-3.

¶ Unless these represent a different institution, and correspond with the *vintenarii* of New Romney.

But to what are we to trace back this institution of "the Twelve"? Surely it takes us back to the Twelve "witnesses" for the "burh" mentioned in the ordinances of Edgar,\* and to the Twelve Lawmen of Lincoln, and the Twelve *judices civitatis* of Chester, a century later.† So, too, we have the "twelve men" of York in 1106,‡ the "twelve men" representing the Kentish boroughs at the Courts of the King's Justices;§ the "twelve men" of Dunwich similarly occurring (1200);|| and the "twelve men" similarly representing each *burgus* in 1231.¶

Here, then, we have a problem to work out in the course of the inquiries I propose. If in these Dozens or bodies of Twelve, we have the direct descendants and representatives of the witnesses or jurors of "the sworn inquest" of those early times, we ought to be able, before we have done, to accumulate a mass of very valuable evidence upon this point alone.

It may further be pointed out that, in addition to "the Twelve," we have also, at Lewes, "the Twenty-four," a co-existent body of similarly elastic numbers,\*\* while "the full number of Twenty-four" is also, though somewhat incomprehensibly, mentioned at Arundel.†† It would seem that at Beccles (p. 75), precisely as at Lewes, there was both a "Twelve" and a "Twenty-four," while at York we have "the Twenty-four" (p. 75), at Winchester "the Twenty-four men" (p. 75), and we may perhaps include the twenty-two jurors and two afferors of Portland.‡‡

Here is a body of which the origin and history will have to be worked out separately from that of "the Twelve." It will have to be treated in connection with the "Twenty-four" from whom the Mayor was chosen at Preston, the "Twenty-four" by whom the Bailiffs were elected at Col-

\* *Select Charters*, p. 71; *Const. Hist.*, i., pp. 93-4.

† *Domesday*.

‡ *Const. Hist.*, i., p. 611, note.

§ Customs of Kent (*Statutes of the Realm*, i., p. 223).

|| "mittant pro se xii. legales homines de burgo suo qui sint pro omnibus."—*Select Charters*, p. 303.

¶ "de quolibet burgo duodecim legales homines."—*Ib.*, p. 349.

\*\* *History of Lewes* [1795], p. 193.

†† Tierney's *Arundel*, p. 700.

‡‡ *British Archaeological Journal*, xxviii., p. 35.

chester, and even with the two bodies of "Twenty-four" Barons elected in accordance with the Provisions of Oxford (1258), which number, as also that of "the Twelve" and "the Fifteen," was doubtless chosen as already familiar to those who framed the Provisions.

Next, as to what Mr. Gomme terms "Agricultural Offices" (pp. 26-32). Such an office as "the Town Swineherd" of Shrewsbury (p. 74) might seem to be one of immemorial antiquity, and indeed I have myself called attention to the mention of "the town swyne-heard," at Carlisle in the Ballad of Adam Bel.\* Yet it was not till 1574 that a town-flock was formed at Lydd, and a town "shepperd" appointed,† nor till 1573 that "Drivers of the Commons" were first appointed at Colchester.‡ It is therefore important to bear in mind that although these offices are undoubtedly connected with common rights of ancient origin, we must not assume, without evidence, that they are themselves necessarily ancient.

So, too, with what Mr. Gomme describes as "peculiar modes of payment" (pp. 34-5). In them we have an almost inexhaustible fund of curious and instructive research,§ yet here also caution is needed. By the Brighton Custumal of 1580, "every constable," in addition to a money-payment, was also to "have . . . one horse-lease." This may, however, have been a new introduction based on an old principle, for the next clause provides that the two head-boroughs should "have . . . one cow-lease and twenty-five sheep-leases, according to the ancient custom."|| Again, "the common shepherd" was allowed, for his services, to "pasture eighty sheep in summer and seventy in winter,"¶ but such payment cannot be older than his office. The same remark applies to the privilege of pasturing a lamb, recognised in 1381 as the right of the Mayor of Corfe,\*\* and to the

"allotment" of land to the Constable of Heddingham Castle, "who, over and above his salary, had a meadow in this town [Heddingham] still called *Constable's Meadow*."\* Thus we must look, in every instance, to local knowledge and special research for the origin and history of every office. So shall we gradually accumulate a fund of authentic data which there is no means of acquiring otherwise, and without which it is obviously impossible that we can approach this subject in a scientific manner.

I propose to begin this series myself with a list of the Municipal Offices of Colchester. I select this town, not merely as that with which I am best acquainted, but also as, perhaps, the oldest in origin of all our existing towns; as a great centre of Roman rule, and therefore a spot where, of all others, we should look for traces of Roman Institutions; as a community admirably illustrative of a distinct and important type; and as a borough of which neither were the offices entered in the Report of 1835 (on which Mr. Gomme's Index is based), nor have the records been yet calendared for the Commission on Historical MSS. In so far as its Municipal Offices are yet undescribed, should a list of them prove the more acceptable.

J. H. ROUND.



## London Theatres.

BY T. FAIRMAN ORDISH.

NO. II.—THE GLOBE AND LESSER BANKSIDE PLAYHOUSES.

### PART IV.

**T**HE construction of the Globe and some of its accessories and surroundings were revealed in the course of our preceding article. Some attempt will now be made to fill in the outline and produce a semblance which shall approximate to the playhouse as it appeared to Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and their contemporaries.†

The Surrey side of London was but thinly

\* Morant's *Essex*.

† For many references to writers of the period, I am indebted to Harrison's *Description* (New Shakespeare Society, ed. F. J. Furnivall); and Malone's *History of the Stage*.

\* *Antiquary*, x., p. 183.

† *App. to 5th Report Hist. MSS.*, p. 531b.

‡ Morant's *Colchester*.

§ Cf. Seeborn's *English Village Community*, pp. 70-71, 115.

|| *History of Brighthelmston* [1795], p. 518.

¶ Paper read by Mr. F. E. Sawyer, before the Brit. Arch. Ass. at Brighton, 18th August, 1885.

\*\* "That the Mayor every year, in right of his office, may have one lamb feeding in the pasture of our lord the king, called Castle Close, quit of [payment for] herbage."—Bond's *Corfe Castle*, p. 133.



populated, and most of the visitors to the theatres on the Bankside came by water. Many of the actors, however, resided near the scene of their labours; and when the playhouses became more famous there were pleasure-seekers who likewise took up their residence on the Bankside. In *The Gul's Hornebook*, 1609, we read: "If you can either for love or money provide yourselfe a lodging by the water-side: it adds a kind of state to you to be carried from thence to the staires of your playhouse."

The performance began at one o'clock in the afternoon, and was announced by hoisting a flag, visible in the representation of the Globe in our previous article. There are various allusions to this flag in contemporary literature. In the early part of the reign of James I. plays were not allowed during Lent, and in Middleton's *A Mad World, my Masters*, we read:

'Tis Lent in your cheeks—the flag is down.

We can imagine servants on the Middlesex side being sent to posts of observation to see whether the flag was up; the subsequent ordering of the barge or boat to be ready; the mid-day dinner hastened, and then the starting on the pleasure excursion. The Thames must have presented quite an animated appearance at noon on many a day before the Puritan revolt. All classes mingled in the pursuit of amusement, from the noble to the apprentice. The prices of admission ranged from sixpence upwards. Malone writes: "The galleries or scaffolds, as they are sometimes called, and that part of the house which in private theatres was named the pit, seem to have been at the same price; and probably in houses of reputation, such as the Globe and that in Blackfriars, the price of admission into those parts of the theatre was sixpence, while in some meaner playhouses it was only a penny, in others two-pence. The price of admission into the best rooms or boxes was, I believe, in our author's time, a shilling; though afterwards it appears to have risen to two shillings and half a crown. At the Blackfriars Theatre the price of boxes, I imagine, was higher than at the Globe."

Of the characters that frequented the playhouse we have several notices. Here we have the prototype of the "playgoer" of the present century:

Momus would act the fool's part in a play,  
And cause he would be exquisit that way,  
Hies me to London, where no day can passe,  
But that some playhouse still his presence has;  
Now at the Globe, with a judicious eye,  
Into the Vice's action doth he prie,  
Next to the Fortune, where it is a chance,  
But he marks something worth his cognizance;  
Then to the Curtaine, where, as at the rest,  
He notes that action down that likes him best.  
Being full fraught, at length he gets him home,  
And Momus now knows how to play the Mome.\*

The original of the London "Man about Town" was also an *habitué* of the theatre. He is thus sketched in Sir John Davies' *Epigrammes*, under the name of Fuscus:

Fuscus is free, and hath the world at will;  
Yet in the course of life that he doth lead  
He's like a horse which turning round a mill  
Doth always in the selfsame circle tread:  
First, he doth rise at ten; and at eleven  
He goes to Gill's, where he doth eat till one;  
Then sees a play till six, and sups at seven;  
And after supper straight to bed is gone.  
And there till ten next day he doth remain,  
And then he dines: then sees a comedy;  
And then he sups, and goes to bed again.  
Thus round he runs without variety;

Save that sometimes he comes not to the play,  
But falls into a . . . . house by the way.

Gallantry was conspicuous during the performance, and the combat of wit between Hamlet and Ophelia in the play-scene may be taken as a sublimed indication of much that took place at the Globe. As early as 1580, we have the following description of the use to which theatres were put by young people:

"In the playhouses at London it is the fashion of youthes to go first into the yarde and to carry their eye through every gallery; then, like unto ravens, where they spy carrion, thither they flye, and presse as nere to the fairest as they can. Instead of pomegranates, they give them pippines; they dally with their garments to passe the time; they minister talke upon al occasions, and eyther bring them home to their houses upon small acquaintance, or slip into taverns when the plaies are done."†

Many of the ladies wore masks. In Ben Jonson's verses addressed to Fletcher on his *Faithful Shepherdess*, we read:

The wise and many-headed bench that sits  
Upon the life and death of plays and wits,

\* Heath's *Epigrams* (1610).

† Stephen Gosson, *Plays confuted*; Collier's *Bibl. Cat.*, i. 322.

Compos'd of gamester, captain, knight, knight's man;  
*Lady or pusil*, that wears maske or fan,  
 Velvet or taffata cap, rank'd in the dark  
 With the shops foreman, or some such brave sparke,  
 (That may judge for his sixpence) had, before  
 They saw it half, damn'd the whole play.

Another author thus refers to the more aristocratic part of the audience :

For your own sakes, poor souls, you had not best  
 Believe my fury was so much suppress  
 I' the heat of the last scene, as now you may  
 Boldly and safely, too, cry down our play;  
 For if you dare but murmur one false note  
 Here in the house, or going to take boat,  
 By heaven I'll mow you off with my long sword,  
 Yeoman and squire, knight, lady, and her lord.\*

The courtier at the theatre is thus sketched  
 by Sir John Davies in his *Epigrammes* :

Rufus the Courtier, at the Theatre,  
 Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,  
 Doth either to the stage himself transfer,  
 Or through a gate doth show his double face,  
 For that the clamorous fry of Inns of Court  
 Fills up the private rooms of greater price;  
 And such a place, where all may have resort,  
 He, in his singularity, doth despise.

The neighbourhood of the Bear Garden acted rather as a clog upon the refinement of the drama at the Globe. The taste of those who found pleasure in the associations and diversions of the Bear Garden was naturally robust, and at the theatre mere show and noise and excitement attracted many of the audience. Hamlet speaks of "berattling the common theatres," and his warning to the players doubtless had an educational aim for Shakespeare's own company :

"O, it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings; who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb-shows and noise."

That portion of the audience here referred to as the "groundlings" occupied what was the equivalent of our modern pit. The groundlings were not provided with seats, but stood to witness the performance; hence they were also called "understanders." Ben Jonson speaks of "the understanding gentlemen of the ground here," and in the prologue to Shirley's *The Doubtful Heir*, performed at the Globe in 1640, we read :

\* Sir William Davenant, in Epilogue to a vacation play acted at the Globe.

Gentlemen, I am only sent to say  
 Our author did not calculate his play  
 For this meridian. The Bankside, he knows,  
 Is far more skilful at the ebbs and flows  
 Of water than of wit; he did not mean  
 For the elevation of your poles this scene.  
 No shows—no dance—and what you most delight in,  
*Grave understanders*, here's no target fighting  
 Upon the stage; all work for cutlers barr'd;  
 No bawdry, nor no ballads;—this goes hard:  
 But language clean, and, what affects you not,  
 Without impossibilities the plot;  
 No clown, no squibs, no devil in't.—Oh now,  
 You squirrels that want nuts, what will you do?  
 Pray do not crack the benches, and we may  
 Hereafter fit your palates with a play.  
 But you that can contract yourselves and sit  
 As you were now in the Blackfriars pit,  
 And will not deaf us with lewd noise and tongues,  
 Because we have no heart to break our lungs,  
 Will pardon our vast stage, and not disgrace  
 This play, meant for your persons, not the place.

While waiting for the play to begin, the audience beguiled the time with reading, playing cards, drinking ale, smoking, or eating nuts and apples. Hentzner, in 1598, says: "In these theatres fruits, such as apples, pears, and nuts, according to the season, are carried about to be sold, as well as ale and wine;" and the clamour of the vendors is loudly complained of by a satirical writer of the time of James I. Hentzner thus quaintly describes the habit of smoking: "At these spectacles and everywhere else the English are constantly smoking tobacco, and in this manner: they have pipes made on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and putting fire to it, they draw the smoak into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils, like funnels [and] along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head." In *The Gul's Hornebook*, 1609, we read: "Before the play begins, fall to cardes;" and in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonson, 1601: "Now, sir, I am one of your gentle auditors that am come in;—I have my three sorts of tobacco in my pocket; my light by me; and thus I begin." Tobacco, like other refreshments, was sold in the theatre. Ben Jonson, in his *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, writes: "He looks like a fellow that I have seen accommodate gentlemen with tobacco at the theatres." In 1633, Prynne, in *Histriomastix*, says that women smoked tobacco as well as men.

Thus we may imagine the audience waiting for the commencement of one of those plays which have continued to thrill the world ever since. Suppose it to be *Hamlet*, the part of the Danish Prince to be taken by Richard Burbage, who, in actor's phrase, was the first to create this character, which has continued ever since the crowning test of supremacy among succeeding generations of players. Swains of all degrees, who fail to find their "metal more attractive," fall to other amusements—here a knot are gathered at cards; here some are smoking over the latest scandal, or talking over the latest suitor for the hand of Queen Bess; here and there a few are reading, perhaps the *Faerie Queene*, or Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, or perhaps a play; while among the "groundlings" the cracking of nuts and munching of apples mingles with the confusion of many tongues. Anon they grow impatient, and signify their feeling in a manner similar to that with which play-goers in our time are familiar; only instead of clapping the hands or thumping the floor with umbrellas, sticks, and feet, or that peculiar shrill whistle which usually proceeds from the gallery—instead of these familiar signs of impatience our forefathers indulged in a sustained kind of call with the voice. Reginald Scot, in 1587, notes that the song of the workmen at Dover Harbour "is a more ciuill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage."

Presently the sound of music is heard, and the silence of expectation ensues. Malone says: "The band, which I believe did not consist of more than eight or ten performers, sat (as I have been told by a very ancient stage veteran, who had his information from Bowman, the contemporary of Betterton) in an upper balcony, over what is now called the stage-box." The instruments consisted of trumpets, cornets, hautboys, lutes, recorders, viols, and organs. The curtain did not ascend as at present, but opened in the middle, and was drawn backwards on an iron rod. The band having executed three flourishes—called in contemporary language "soundings"—the Prologue enters. This personage wore a long black velvet cloak, and Malone writes, (in 1790,) that the complete dress of the ancient prologue-speaker is still retained in the play ex-

hibited in *Hamlet* before the King and Court of Denmark. In Decker's *Gul's Hornebook*, 1609, a graphic picture of this point in the exhibition is suggested: "Present not yoursele on the stage (especially at a new play) untill the quaking prologue hath by rubbing got cullor into his cheeks, and is ready to give the trumpetts their cue that he's upon the point to enter." And in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, we read:

1 Child. Pray you, away; why, children, what do you mean?

2 Child. Marry that you should not speak the prologue.

1 Child. Sir, I plead possession of the cloak.

Gentlemen, your suffrages, for God's sake.

The actors are all in the "tiring-house," the original of our "green-room," and the prompter or book-holder is ready at his post. Another quotation from *Cynthia's Revels* will suggest this part of the picture to us: "I assure you, sir, we are not so officiously befriended by him [the author] as to have his presence in the tiring-house, to prompt us aloud, stamp at the book-holder, swear for our properties, curse the poor tire-man, rayle the musicke out of tune," etc.

Among the properties in the tiring-house we see a considerable assortment of various dresses, periwigs, vizards, foils, and pieces of ordnance. The actors are dressed ready for their parts, and we notice that the male characters wear periwigs and some of the female characters wear vizards. We just quoted Hamlet's reference to "a robustious periwig-pated" player, and we remember the survival of the custom in the last century, when Garrick played Macbeth in a wig. We also read in *Every Woman in Her Humour* (1609): "As none wear hoods but monks and ladies—and feathers but fore-horses, etc., none periwigs but players and pictures."

The female characters were represented solely by boys or young men, and the vizards were worn to help their disguise. We remember that, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Flute objects to a woman's part because he had a beard coming, but Quince tells him: "That's all one; you may play it in a mask, and you may speak as small as you will." This custom of men dressing in women's clothes, and acting women's parts, was one of the things assailed by the puritan senti-

ment in England at that time. In the Tanner MSS., in the Bodleian Library, there is a letter from Dr. Rainolds to Dr. Thornton, in which he very abundantly and learnedly explains that for men to dress as women is unlawful, wicked, and abominable. Dr. Thornton had asked him to witness a play, and Dr. Rainolds's letter, which is dated "Quene's Colledge, Febr. 6, 1591," begins: "Because your curteous invitinge of me yesterday agayne to your playes doth shewe you were not satisfied with my answer and reason thereof before given"—he proceeds to enlarge his opinions as described. He afterwards published a work on the same subject, in 1600.\* We also learn that these masks or vizards answered another purpose. In Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) we learn that they were sometimes worn "partly to supply the want of players when there were more parts than persons."

But the Prologue has besought the sufferance of the audience, and the play begins. The stage is separated from the pit only by poles. In the *Black Booke* (4to., 1604) we read:

And now that I have vaulted up so hye,  
Above the stage-rayles of this earthen globe  
I must turn actor.

The stage was probably strewed with rushes, the usual covering of floors in England at that time; only on very special occasions was it matted over. Towards the rear of the stage, Malone tells us, there was "a balcony or upper stage; the platform of which was probably eight or nine feet from the ground. I suppose it to have been supported by pillars. From hence, in many of our old plays, part of the dialogue was spoken; and in the front of it curtains likewise were hung, so as occasionally to conceal the persons in it from the view of the audience. At each side of the balcony was a box very inconveniently situated, which sometimes was called the private box. In these boxes, which were at a lower price, some persons sate either from economy or singularity."

As we are supposing a performance of *Hamlet*, we witness another use to which this stage balcony was put. It appears from the stage-directions given in *The Spanish Tragedy*,

\* See Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, iii. 201.

in which also a play is exhibited within a play, that the court or audience before whom the play-scene was performed sat in this stage balcony. A curtain being hung across the stage, the performers entered between this curtain and the general audience in the theatre; and when the curtain was drawn the players addressed themselves to the occupants of the balcony, regardless of the spectators in the theatre, to whom their backs must have been turned during the whole performance. The balcony was doubtless used also in *Richard III.*, act iii., scene 7, where Gloster and Buckingham enact their piece of comedy knavery with the mayor and citizens. The stage-direction is: "Enter Gloster aloft between two Bishops. Catesby returns." At the remarkable revival of this play at the Lyceum Theatre, in which Colley Cibber's adaptation was courageously discarded, and the original drama was produced, Richard appeared on a balcony or platform at the rear of the stage, in accordance with the directions; only (if the present writer's memory serves him) there were steps leading from the balcony to the stage itself; in which particular probably the Lyceum representation transcended the scenic possibilities of the ancient Globe playhouse. The stage balcony was doubtless used in the representations of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, when Quince, Bottom, Flute, and the others, present their play before Theseus and Queen Hippolyta; and probably also the balcony was used for the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*. In the second scene of the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* we read: "Enter aloft Sly, with attendants, etc."

With regard to what we now call scenery at dramatic exhibitions, we must conclude that the Globe and other playhouses of this period did not possess any. Malone argues exhaustively that the stage of Shakespeare's time was not furnished with movable painted scenes, but was merely decorated with curtains and arras or tapestry hangings, which, when decayed, appear to have been sometimes ornamented with pictures. The various references to change of scene which we find in Shakespeare and his contemporary dramatists refer only to change of place in the progress of the drama. On the other hand, that stage machinery and other illusory contri-



vances were used at the Globe there can be no doubt. We need only recall the directions in some of Shakespeare's dramas to be quite convinced of this. In the first scene of *The Tempest* a tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning is heard; in act iii., scene 2, Ariel plays on tabor and pipe, and in scene 3, solemn and strange music accompanies the setting of Prospero's banquet by the "several strange shapes." The music was probably supplied by the orchestra, after the modern manner. When Alonso determines to partake of the weird and gruesome banquet, Ariel again enters amid thunder and lightning, "like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes." It was probably either taken up in the wings, or a spring was touched and it disappeared in a cavity within the table.

The fourth act of *The Tempest* is very interesting for its indications of its stage effects. In the fairy play displayed by Prospero before Ferdinand, there is music and what we should now call a ballet: "Enter certain Reapers, properly habited; they join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance; towards the end whereof Prospero starts suddenly, and speaks; after which, to a strange, hollow, and confused noise, they heavily vanish." Anon Ariel comes in again, "loaden with glistering apparel;" and presently when Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo are punished: "A noise of hunters heard. Enter divers Spirits, in shape of dogs and hounds, and hunt them about, Prospero and Ariel setting them on."

Although there were no movable painted scenes in Shakespeare's time, there can be little doubt that the stage contrivances were not altogether so crude as has been sometimes supposed. We need only study the various inventories and accounts of the Masters of the Revels in the Calendars of State Papers and elsewhere to perceive that much labour and ingenuity were bestowed upon the various accessories of the Court Revels and Masques; and in considering the scenic resources of the Globe, we have to bear in mind that the players there were his Majesty's servants, a part of the royal establishment, and that the representations at the playhouse would not lag very far behind those produced by the ingenious Inigo

Jones at the Court. Much has been made of the limitations and crudities of our ancient theatre, but with the exception of the modern contrivance of movable scenery it lacked nothing of dignity or efficiency. The position of players was far from being contemptible. The Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission teem with notices of the strolling actors, who acted in the various towns of the kingdom, receiving largesses of the mayors, or in the houses of the nobility, receiving entertainment there such as Hamlet directs shall be given to the players visiting Elsinore. Hamlet says to Polonius: "Good my lord, will you see the players well bestowed? Do you hear, let them be well used; for they are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time: after their death you were better have a bad epitaph, than their ill report while you live."

The criticisms on players in *Hamlet*, and the burlesque rehearsal and performance in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, imply at least a great relative improvement: how great was the absolute perfection attained we cannot determine. Elocution, declamation—in a word, acting, was doubtless the chief excellence in the exhibitions; but we are not to suppose that the stage surroundings were either so crude or so absurd as to detract from the effect produced by good acting. Dramatic exhibition that could afford to introduce the ridiculous contrivances of Wall, Moonshine, and the Lion in *Midsummer Night's Dream* must have left such and kindred absurdities at a safe distance behind in its progress of development. There is one special indication in the rehearsal of Bottom and his company which is worthy of observation.

Quince says:

"But there is two hard things: that is, to bring the moonlight into a chamber: for you know, Pyramus and Thisby meet by moonlight.

*Snout.* Doth the moon shine that night we play our play?

*Bottom.* A calendar! a calendar! look in the almanac; find out moonshine, find out moonshine.

*Quince.* Yes, it doth shine that night.

*Bottom.* Why, then may you leave a casement of the great chamber window, where we play, open; and the moon may shine in at the casement."

There is extreme likelihood that this device was resorted to either then or formerly when it was desired to produce the effect of moonlight. In the beautiful last act of *The*

*Merchant of Venice*, "the moon shines bright." If the play were produced when the days were short it would be nigh six o'clock before the fifth act were reached: the moon might be shining brightly into the theatre, either through the uncovered portion of the roof over the pit, or through a case-ment above, or on the stage.

Apologies, such as we read in the prologues to *Henry V.*, need not be taken *au pied de lettre*; good taste, sense and tact alike, must always make such deprecation apt in mimic exhibitions. Probably it would not be too much to say that even our pampered senses would not revolt at the representation of *Hamlet* which we have been supposing; nor probably would Hamlet's advice to the players appear ridiculous to us in sight of the quality of the acting at the Globe play-house.

The conveniency of pausing between the acts was answered then as now, and was beguiled with music and the wit and antics of the clown. We also learn from Prynne's *Histriomastix* that there were songs between the acts, "to supply that chasme or vacant interim which the tyring-house takes up in changing the actors' robes, to fit them for some other part in the ensuing scene." The clown possessed great licence, and Hamlet's rebuke on this head doubtless applied with much force to various theatres of the time. Malone says that the clown entered between the acts, and sometimes between the scenes, and excited merriment by any species of extemporal buffoonery that struck him. He entered into raillery and sarcasm with the audience, and composed doggrel on the spot. Thomas Wilson and Richard Tarleton, servants to Queen Elizabeth, were the most popular performers in this way. Various jests of the latter were collected and published in 1611, and are known as Tarleton's *Jeasts*.

At the end of the play the actors in the public theatres, such as the Globe, prayed for the Sovereign. The prayer was sometimes made part of the epilogue. Malone says that this custom was the origin of the addition of "Vivant rex et regina" to modern play-bills; and we must suppose that the execution of "God save the Queen" by our orchestras at the close of the performance is a survival of the same formality. Other and

lighter diversions closed the entertainment. These were either dancing, or a jig, or in some theatres tumbling and other "activities."

It will be remembered that the epilogue to *Henry IV.* is spoken by a dancer; and at the close of *Much Ado About Nothing* Benedick bids the pipers strike up, and they all dance. The clown also gave an entertainment after the play, the audience sometimes giving him themes to descant upon. The "jig," which sometimes followed upon plays, was a ludicrous metrical composition, often in rhyme, which was sung by the clown, who, Malone supposes, also occasionally danced, and was always accompanied by tabor and pipe. Sometimes more persons were introduced in the jig.

Some interesting points as to the proprietorship of the Globe and other matters must remain until we treat of the Blackfriars Theatre, with which it was allied; but it may serve to give a finishing-touch to such imperfect picture as we have been able to draw of the old playhouse if we introduce a note in which the dramatic author is presented to the notice of the reader. We must not be so irreverent as to continue our supposed exhibition of *Hamlet* so far as this, and imagine William Shakespeare in the position indicated; but the quotation graphically describes a situation which was doubtless frequently occupied by Shakespeare's fellow-playwrights: "There is no poet acquainted with more shakings and quakings towards the latter end of his new play when he's in that case that he stands peeping between the curtains so fearfully that a bottle of ale cannot be opened but that he thinks somebody hisses."—*Woman Hater*, Beaumont and Fletcher, 1607.

[We had intended to include an account of the Swan playhouse in the present paper; but space compels a separate treatment of this remaining Bankside playhouse.]



## Scotter and its Manor.

BY EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.



HE village of Scotter lies about four miles to the north of Northorpe Station, on the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway. It is noteworthy among the villages of its neighbourhood, in having a history which extends beyond the time of the Domesday Survey. The parish is, on the average, about two miles wide. Its western boundary is the river Trent.

Of its early history little need be said. A charter of Ulfrhere, King of the Mercians, carries back the name and something more, if it be accepted as genuine, to the year 664. It is, however, not easy to reconcile it with a charter of Edward the Confessor, from which it would seem that the Abbey of Medeshamstede, afterwards called Peterborough, derived its rights in Scotter from a certain person named Brand.\*

The interest which attaches to Scotter depends mainly on its Manor and Liberty. As to when the franchise originated it would be rash for us to speak. Much work has to be done, and many theories now popular cast aside, before we shall find ourselves in a position to explain how the original village communities of our Teutonic ancestors moulded themselves into the manors of the later middle ages. We know, however, enough already to be quite sure that Sir William Blackstone was hopelessly wrong when he informed his readers that a manor was "a district of ground, held by lords or great personages, who kept in their own hands so much land as was necessary for the use of their families . . . [and] the other, or tenemental lands they distributed among their tenants."† That the English manorial system was in process of development before the Norman Conquest cannot be called in question. It is, however, important to discover whether the free tenants and the various class of unfree had come into the positions in which we find them by voluntary acts of their own or their forefathers, or

whether the village community was originally constituted on a basis of servitude. We believe that the former solution will be found to be the one most in accord with the facts of history; but in the present state of knowledge it is premature to affirm anything definitely on a subject which is so obscure.

The Manor and Liberty of Scotter can, as we have said, be proved to have existed, in some form or other, for more than eight hundred years.

We are justified, perhaps, in assuming that in reality its origin dates from a much more remote time. The Manor proper includes only the parish of Scotter with its hamlet of Scalthorpe or Scawthorpe, a place which in most modern books and maps is perversely spelt Scotterthorpe, a corrupt form for which we are pretty certain there is no early authority whatsoever.\* The Liberty in which the lord exercised true manorial rights, though of a somewhat different character, extended over the townships of Manton, Holme, Yawthorpe and parts of Scotton, Cleatham, Northorpe, Hibbaldstow, East Butterwick and Messingham. To distinguish exactly what was the different status of the lord in the two districts is, we fear, impossible, unless evidence has eluded us which has been carefully searched for.

It would be interesting to know how the successive Abbots of Peterborough managed this property. It is very improbable that in the earlier time it was let either on lease or by year. We know that many estates, both secular and ecclesiastical, were managed by farm bailiffs. As time went on, it became less and less common for corporate bodies to farm their own lands; the lands were let on

\* At the time of the great inclosures of the last century the names of many of our villages were distorted in a most provoking manner, for the purpose, it would seem, of pleasing the uninstructed ears of ignorant people who thought that the forms used by the common people must, of necessity, be wrong. This process of name-corruption may not unfairly be compared with the "restoration" of old buildings which takes place in our own day. It is as stupid a thing to "restore" a word as an abbey, but in the one case the evil is capable of being set right by the exercise of the intelligence, in the other the harm done is for all succeeding time. It is said that we owe the form Scotterthorpe to the "genteel" tastes of the inhabitants of the rectory of some ninety years ago.

\* Kemble, *Codex Dipl.*, v. 7; iv. 169.

† *Commentaries*, book ii., ch. 6, 16th ed., vol. ii., p. 90.

long leases. The Lincolnshire estates of the Abbey of Peterborough were no exception. The first extant lease of the Manor of Scotter is dated 1 Richard III.;\* but it was not the first of the series, for reference is made in the document to the person who was then the present holder, John Atcliff. This lease of 1483 was granted to George Sheffield and Richard his son† for a term of fifty years. It was, however, terminated in 1538, for in that year a member of another old Lincolnshire family — Sir William Tyrwhitt, of Kettleby‡ — became the tenant under an eighty years' lease. This document presents many points of interest.§ It conveys the Manor-house, all the demesne lands, the wind-mill, "with the sute of the tennantes to the same milne;" certain shops in the market-place, with profits of fairs and markets,|| profits of courts-leet in Scotter, and within its liberties; waifs, estray, and felons' goods, "as well within the libertys of Scottour as within the Towne of Scottour;" right of fishing "in the water callyd Scottour Ee," and a warren of conies.

This right of fishery is remarkable, not in itself, but on account of the spelling of the name of the stream. The little river Eau is an affluent of the Trent. How long the present spelling has been used we do not know. The popular pronunciation is Eá. We have met with it more than once spelt Eay and Hay.

The abbot and convent reserve the

\* Original among the Bodleian Charters, *Northamptonshire*, No. 12.

† George Sheffield was a younger son of Sir Robert Sheffield, of West Butterwick, who was ancestor of the line of Sheffield, the members of which were successively Lords Sheffield, Earls of Mulgrave, and Dukes of Buckingham.

‡ Sir William Tyrwhitt was eldest son of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, of Kettleby, by his wife Maud, daughter of Sir Robert Tailboys, of Goulton and Kyme. Sir William married Isabel, daughter of Robert Girlington, of Normanby. He died in 1541, and was buried at Scotter. When Gervaise Holles, the seventeenth-century antiquary, made his church notes, there was in Scotter Church: "In cancello ad austrum tumulus marmoreus ere insculptus *Hic jacet Willelmus Tyrwhitt Miles, qui obiit 19<sup>a</sup> die Martii, Anno Domini 1541.*" See *Harl. MS.* 6829, p. 197.

§ The original is among the Bodleian Charters, *Northamptonshire*, No. 13. It is printed in *Pro. Soc. Ant.*, II. S., vol. vi., p. 416.

|| A charter of fair and market was granted by Richard I. See *Mon. Ang.*, vol. i., p. 392.

advowson of the church, the woods, underwoods, suits of court and many other things, among which we may mention fines on marriage "leachewhites" and "marcheates," also "gressomys for londes and tenements lettyn or to be lettyn by copy of courte rolle, or other wyse." The rent was £8 6s. 8d. per annum. There are the usual covenants for keeping the buildings in repair, and also a clause that Sir William Tyrwhitt and his successors shall not "texe trobble ne sew" the manorial tenants in any court except that of the abbot and convent within the said lordship. The tenant also binds himself to find board and lodging for the abbot and his servants, and food and litter for their horses when they come twice a year for "kepyng of the greate courtes."

The covenant that the chief tenant should not take proceedings against the lord's vassals except in the Lord's Court is very interesting, being, as we have no doubt it is, a survival from the time when all offences, civil and criminal, were adjudicated upon by the members of the small communities wherein they occurred. The Manor-house in which George Sheffield and after him Sir William Tyrwhitt lived, has long ago disappeared. It stood adjoining the churchyard, on the north. It is almost certain that a house of considerable size existed here from an early period, for King John spent the night in Scotter on Sunday, 25th September, 1216. It is certain that there was no other house in Scotter capable of entertaining a royal guest and his retinue.

The early Court-rolls of the Manor have been lost. The oldest now known to exist is dated 1519. We have an almost complete abstract of those that remain now before us.\* We propose at the present time only to notice those entries which have a direct relation to the social life of the people. Fines for assault, for bad language and for not baking and brewing according to assize are common to almost all manors, and do not require notice.

In the year in which the records now commence we find proof that, although the herbage in the common pasture belonged to the townsmen, yet that the thorns which grew there did not do so, for William Grey was

\* Some extracts from my abstract are printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii., pp. 371-388.



presented because he "cutted ligna vocata qwyckwoode;" whether these thorns which William Grey had "cutted" belonged to the lord or whether they were, as is more probable, vested in some of the manorial officers for the purpose of repairing the common hedges, of which there were several, is very uncertain. At the same court Henry Peke was ordered to repair his tenement. Orders of this kind are common in the subsequent rolls, and we have found similar entries in the records of other manors which we have examined. In the case of copyhold tenants the meaning is obvious. It was contrary to the interest of the lord that the property should deteriorate, but there seems proof that in several instances orders of this kind were made upon freeholders. If this be so, it points to a state of society very different from that of the sixteenth century—to a time when the common duty of defence and succour was so much more important than those abstract rights of property which have been the creation of more recent circumstances, that it was held to be a violation of the common law of the community if any one of its members permitted his dwelling to become ruinous. The next important entry is a note of a merchet or payment for marriage of a non-free woman. It is the only one to be found on the rolls. The entry informs us that Alice Overey, "filia Wilhelmi Overey, nativi domini de Scotter," came to the manor-court "et petit licentiam se spontanie et voluntarie maritari." The lord, through his steward, granted the young woman's request on the payment of five shillings. So much learned rubbish has been written concerning the "mercheta mulierum," that it is still needful to bring forward instances to show that it was merely a tax or fee paid to the lord by the vassal when he gave his daughter in marriage, or by the woman herself when not in her father's custody, to compensate the lord for the loss of customary services.\*

In 1529, we find an order that no one was to permit his horses to depasture themselves in the cornfields except they were tethered.

\* The Court-rolls of the Manor of Isleworth, 7 Edward II., mention a naif being amerced for marrying without a license, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, vol. vi., p. 232. The "droit de seigneur" legend has been admirably exposed in Dr. Karl Schmidt's *Jus Prima Noctis: eine geschichtliche Untersuchung*, cf. *Academy*, March 25, 1882, p. 207.

The meaning of this is not obvious to those who have not local knowledge. The horses, whether tethered or not, were of course not to be permitted to trample upon or eat the growing corn. The open fields of Scotter, like most of the neighbouring manors, were held in long strips. At the ends of these long and narrow plots there was a broad border of grass, like a fringe on a striped hanging; this grass belonged to the owners of the strips, but they could not exercise their right of grazing it with cattle unless the beasts were tied so as to hinder them from trampling down the corn. In 1553, Richard Balay was fined because he suffered a calf to wander in the sown field and to destroy what was there growing. It is pretty certain that this man had turned his calf upon his own bit of grass, and that while he was away it had strayed among the corn.

An order was made this year which, to our modern notions, seems very arbitrary. John Raysbeck was forbidden to remain in the town after the feast of SS. Philip and James under pain of a fine of ten shillings. We presume that Raysbeck was some stranger who had forced his unwelcome company on the community. It is probable, though by no means certain, that if he had been a tenant of the Manor the Court would not have had power to drive him away unless he had incurred a forfeiture; but as to strangers—foreigners as they were called, and the name is itself suggestive—the power of the Court was well-nigh despotic. The village existed for its inhabitants and for them only; if landless strangers came among them—men who had no rights and owed no duties—the whole mechanism of rural life would be thrown out of order. The villagers, when assembled in what was really their common council, exercised here and elsewhere a right which is now, we believe, never enjoyed by authorities that are not sovereign except in some of the communes of Switzerland. How late the practice was continued in England we do not know. It must have been an absolute necessity in times when the office of Justice of the Peace had not been called into existence, and when in practice, if not in theory, manors were self-governing communities whose members never came in contact with royal officers of any kind except when there

was a subsidy to pay or a military force to be raised. There was also a small fine imposed on all persons who did not fill up their "furstowk holes." This order, we may assume, would not be readily intelligible to those who do not live in Lincolnshire or other parts of England where underground timber exists. In much of the low land within the Manor of Scotter the peat-moss contains large quantities of timber. These trees have been dug up from time immemorial for the purpose of making spars for roofs and gate-posts; their roots were used as fuel. If the holes from which they were taken were not filled up level with the rest of the common, water would accumulate, and cattle run much risk of being drowned. Another instance now occurs of a person being ordered to quit the town. In this case there can be no doubt that he was a stranger, not a manorial tenant, for his Christian name was unknown. He is simply described as . . . Patyson. He had been guilty of what must have seemed a grave offence to the villagers. He had sold to strangers—that is, folk outside the Manor, furze and turves. It must be borne in mind that in the sixteenth century coal was almost unknown in Lincolnshire. If used at all, of which we have not seen conclusive evidence, it was only a luxury of the rich. To sell the turves which were required for the fires of the household, and the furze which were wanted for the purpose of heating the ovens for baking bread, was an action which must have seemed particularly atrocious, especially when committed by one who had himself no right to the use of them. Wanderers of this kind were a constant source of trouble to the orderly people who wished that the town should be governed with a strict regard to the common welfare. An order occurs in the same roll that no two inhabitants—families is no doubt meant—shall live on the same toft. A fine of 6s. 8d. is directed against the practice of taking in lodgers. We have ourselves often cause to wish, in the presence of the overcrowding which degrades the lives of so many of the poor, that a local court had power to make and enforce laws similar in spirit to those of the old time, to which the people seem to have given unmurmuring obedience.

In 1556 we find an order of some interest,

as showing that certain portions of the arable land were held strictly in common. It was ordered that no one should gather "any peyse-coddes without lycence upon payne of iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>." In many, perhaps most of the Lindsey Manors, it was the practice to sow each year a certain portion of land with peas for the use of the poor. Strict regulations had to be made and enforced as to the time of the year when the peas were to be gathered, and the hours of the day when it should be lawful to do so. In the Louth churchwardens' accounts for this very year there is a payment entered to "William East for knylling the bell in harvest for gathering of pescodes," and in a fine roll of the Manor of Kirton in Lindsey for 1631, we find a person mulct one shilling for "gathering peascods contrarie to order."

In 1559 we find for the first time in the records a limitation of the right of turning stock on the common. In earlier times it is probable that the commons of Scotter, and the neighbouring manors, were what is called "unstinted." As time went on, and money became more plentiful, this was found to lead to grave injustice. In the olden time men had only kept as much stock on the common as their land, which was held in severalty, could maintain throughout the year; but now persons having money in hand invested it in sheep, not for their own use, but for the purpose of selling them again at a profit. Thus the poorer class of manorial tenants suffered a heavy wrong, for the number of cattle became so great that the animals could not find food needful to keep them alive. To remedy this state of things, it was enacted that "Nullus vocatus husbandman custodiet ultra quadraginta oves pro uno bovato terre," and the cottagers only half that number.

In 1562 an order was made that no one should brew or bake in the night-time. This is probably a re-enactment of an order of much older date. Almost every house in the village was built of "stud and mud," that is, timber and clay. The covering was universally thatch; such an order was most needful for the prevention of fires. The same year furnishes us with an order that no one should plough up "le meaeffurres" within the fields. The meerfurrow, or marfur,\* in

\* Meere, mere, or mear, means any mark or

an open field, is the narrow strip of grass which divides one property from another. If these strips were encroached upon, the boundaries of estates became liable to dispute.

In 1565 another precaution was taken against fire. George Lee was fined one shilling because he had put hemp near his fire. The practice is described as "malum et perniciosum exemplum." Another still more foolish person, called Thomas Dawson, actually broke hemp in his chimney. To break hemp means to separate the fibre from the bark, or husk. It was a common, but a most dangerous practice in the cold nights of winter to sit on the bench in the large open chimney, and spend the time in talking, while the fingers were occupied in disengaging the hemp-fibre from its surroundings. The refuse of hemp is highly inflammable, and fires must constantly have resulted from this cause. Almost every manor whose records we have examined contain injunctions against this very dangerous practice.

In 1578 Nicholas Hugget was fined the large sum of one pound because he occupied two leas near Messingham. A lea signifies in this neighbourhood not natural grass-land, but land that has been at one time or other under plough, and has afterwards been laid down to grass, or gone out of cultivation. Leas seem always here to have been held in common, not in severalty. Hugget's crime, for which he was fined so heavily, was great. He had robbed the whole community by appropriating to himself, and we imagine ploughing up, some of the common pasture.

It would be possible to extend this paper to a very much greater length than it has already reached, for almost every entry that is not merely formal furnishes food for thought, and might be an apt text for a discourse on those old modes of rural life, which began we know not when, and only came to an end during the childhood of some who are yet among us. The writer will feel that he has done some good should his paper be the means of inducing anyone who has the

custody of, or access to, old manorial records, to examine every entry carefully, and give to the public, in some form or other, every fact that bears on the social life of the past. One other remark must be made ere we conclude. The court-rolls of manors are often quite as serviceable as parish registers in furnishing evidence of pedigree. Some, too, as those of the great Manor of Kirton in Lindsey, contain many wills entered at length, which do not, as far as is known, exist elsewhere.



### Witchcraft in the Sixteenth Century.

THE records of witchcraft are among the most painful and the most curious of past times. How terribly the superstition worked upon the minds of the poorer class is shown by the fearful experiences which they had to undergo; how the upper classes were impressed is shown by such curious cases as Mistress Jane Shore and Dr. Fian. But there is something much more important than even these details of the workings of witchcraft, namely, the consideration as to how very nearly it became a power in the land with a recognised priesthood and cult, and with votaries and believers among all classes. Mr. Keary, in his *Origin of Primitive Belief*, has ably touched upon this side of the question, and it is a side which to the scientific spirit of the present age is one of deep and curious significance in the history of civilization. All branches of folk-lore now are recognised to be of scientific value, but the recognition has been tardy and partial. In the branch relating to witchcraft, however, it has very long been recognised that no inquirer into the history of man in civilized Europe during the Middle Ages can afford to ignore the influence of witchcraft in the moulding of events.

Perhaps the most curious book in the English language upon witchcraft is Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, first published in 1584, "imprinted by William Brome," and now about to be reprinted by Dr. E. B.

P 2

boundary which divides one person's land from another, or any division between one parish, township or manor and another. George Gascoigne uses the word in his *Fruites of Warre*:

"Oh countrie clownes, your closes see you keepe  
With hedge and ditche and mark your meade with meares.  
Ed. Chalmers, 24.

Nicholson.\* Copies of this edition have long been extremely scarce, and one sold for twenty guineas at a sale a few months ago. Other editions were issued; that of 1651, "printed by R. C., and are to be sold by Giles Calvert," being, next to the first edition, the most curious. But after this date, the book has never been reproduced. The great rarity of the first edition is perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that James I. had a great many copies of it burnt.

Scot is most curious in the information he gives about those who believed in and practised witchcraft, and his book is a mine of wealth to those who interest themselves in this subject. "They can raise spirits, drie up springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sunne, and staie both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at auger-holes, and saile in an egge-shell, a cockle or mussel shell, through and under the tempestuous seas . . . . They can teare snakes in peeces with words, and with looks kill lambes . . . . They can also bring to passe that, chearne as you list, your butter will not come." It is not to be supposed that old Scot agrees with all this. Some curious observations are interspersed up and down the book, which is, of course, written against the prevailing belief in witchcraft, showing in quaint, dry humour how thoroughly the author laughed at the superstition he was endeavouring to disprove. "But in this case a man may saie," he says, referring to the passage above quoted about killing lambs with looks, etc., "that miranda canunt sed non credenda poetæ."

Scot quotes largely from Bodin's *De Dæmoniis*, and in a curious passage describing the assemblages of witches, says, "Here some of Monsieur Bodin's lies may be inserted, who saith that at these magicall assemblies, the witches never faile to danse; and in their danse they sing these words:

Har, Har,  
Divell, divell,  
Danse here,  
Danse here,  
Plaie here,  
Plaie here,  
Sabbath, Sabbath;

\* We have been favoured with some advanced sheets of this interesting reprint, and make use of them in the following article. The book is to be issued to subscribers by Mr. Elliot Stock.

and whiles they sing and danse, everie one hath a broome in her hand and holdeth it up aloft. Item he saith that these night-walking or rather night-dansing witches brought out of Italie into France that danse which is called La volta."

Often does Scot indulge in sly sarcasms against the doings of the day, and the next passage to the above gives a good example of this: "A part of their league is to scrape off the oile which is received in extreame follie (unction I should have said)."

Witchcraft became much used to obtain the nefarious ends of a licentious nobility or wealthy merchant princes, and this is the largest and most instructive portion of Scot's book. He tells story after story, often as entertaining as those given in Boccaccio, and very little better in their method of thoroughly unveiling the corruptness of the times in which he wrote; and Scot has to exclaim of more than one story that he relates, that as for the lewdness, neither of the writers who support the existence of witchcraft "doo once so much as speake in the dispraise thereof."

His fourth book is devoted to stories dealing with such matters; and he prefixes to it a curious "request to such readers as loath to heare or read filthie and bawdie matters (which of necessitie are heere to be inserted) to passe over eight chapters." All these stories are extremely amusing, but they serve only as evidence, already pretty well accumulated, of the growing evils which priestcraft and other powers were exercising upon the minds of a credulous and ignorant people. "O, excellent peece of witchcraft or cousening wrought by the holie bishop Sylvanus!" exclaims Scot, after one of the stories.

Some of the stories told as witch stories are of more general interest. Thus we get the Legend of Tel in the story of Pumher: "One souldier [who] dailie through witchcraft killed with his bowe and arrowes three of the enimies as they stood peeping over the walles of a castell besieged: so as in the end he killed them all quite saving one . . . . This was he that shot at a pennie on his sonnes head and made readie another arrow to have slaine the duke Remgrave that commanded it."

There are other scraps of folk-lore to be obtained from this book. The visit of Incubus or his cousin Robin Goodfellow at



night and their sweeping the kitchen is a well-known piece of fairy-lore. All goes well until the maids in mistaken kindness laid some "clothes for him besides his messe of white bread and milke which was his standing fee; for in that case he saith:

What have we here?  
Hemton hamten,  
Here will I never more  
Tread nor stampen.

One very curious section of the book is devoted to the art of juggling, and it shows

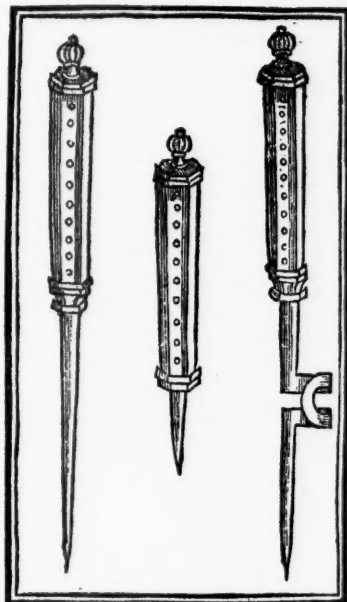


FIG. 1.

how the people were deceived by the most transparent devices. One of these tricks is "to thrust a bodkin through your toong and a knife through your arme—a pitifull sight—without hurt or danger;" and the quaint marginal note says, "A forme or patterne of this bodkin or knife you shal see described if you turne over a few leaves forward" (Fig. 1). The block here used by Scot we reproduce, and it shows the device by which, by means of a peculiarly made knife, it was made to appear that a cut had been produced. "The hethermost is the bodkin w<sup>th</sup> the bowt; y<sup>e</sup> middlemost is the bodkin with the holow haft; the

furthermost is the plain bodkin serving for shew," says Scot in explanation; and in another place he quaintly observes, "And the wound will appeare to be more terrible if a little bloud be powred thereupon." A more elaborate trick was "to cut off one's head and to laie it in a platter which the jugglers call the decollation of John the Baptist." This is also exposed by Scot, both in his text and

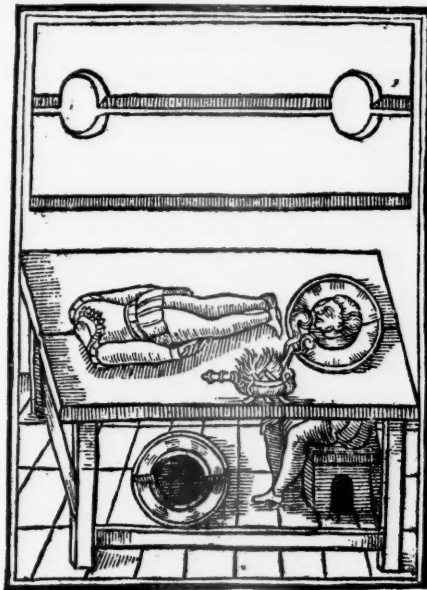


FIG. 2.

by means of an illustration, which, we think, will be acceptable to our readers (Fig. 2). There is no necessity, indeed, to quote Scot's description of the trick, as the curious block explains it fully. One could go on quoting such interesting memorials of past social life from this curious old work, but enough has been said, we think, to point out some of its chief peculiarities.

Dr. Nicholson has, we understand, discovered some interesting facts about Scot's life, and these will be recorded in the introduction to the forthcoming edition of the *Discoverie of Witchcraft*. Scot was a gentleman of Kent, and was educated at Oxford. He was twice married—first, to Jane (not Alice) Cobbe; and secondly, to Alice (Collyar?), a widow, whom he left a widow.

## The Battle of Brunanburgh.

[*Ante*, vol. xi., p. 68; xii., 168.]

BY C. STANILAND WAKE.

**I**F Mr. Welby had looked a little nearer the Humber for the site of this famous battle, he would, I think, have been more correct in his identification. There does not appear to be any historical ground for associating the name Brunanbyrig with Flamborough; and even if these two words had the same meaning, the locality is not a suitable one. It may be assumed that Anlaf's fleet entered the Humber, and it no doubt remained there until after the battle which determined the fate of the expedition. The *Saxon Chronicle* says that the Northmen's chieftain fled with a little band to a ship in which they departed on the "fallow flood." This description applies well to the Humber, whose muddy water may fairly be termed *fallow*, that is, reddish yellow. The Northmen knew well the broad road into the heart of Northumbria furnished by that river and its tributaries, and in seeking a position for Brunanburh the real question to decide would seem to be whether the fleet of Anlaf remained in the Humber itself, or made for a point further inland. In Harold's reign the five hundred vessels of Hardræda and Tostig went up the Ouse as far as Rickall, ten miles from York. This invasion, which the battle of Stamford Bridge terminated, exhibits in its incidents a close parallelism with that which was brought to a close by the battle of Brunanburh. There can hardly be a doubt that the point aimed at in each case was the same. Lappenberg supposes that Anlaf and his brother-in-law Constantine, King of Scotland, wished to form a Dano-Northumbrian kingdom, which might serve as a defence for both Scotland and the Welsh kingdom of Cumberland. The chief Danish city of Northumbria was York, and although Athelstan had some years before Anlaf's invasion caused the fort constructed there by the Danes to be destroyed, that city was still looked upon as the northern capital. There is nothing to show, however, that the invaders who fought at Brunanburh had approached York, or that they advanced far

from their fleet. Mention, indeed, is made of a city in connection with Athelstan's movements. It is not named, but it cannot have been far from Athelstan's camp; as the attack on Athelstan's quarters took place on the night of the same day as that on which Anlaf visited the Saxon encampment in disguise. There are reasons for fixing on Beverley as the city in question. After the battle Athelstan visited that place to redeem a dagger which he had a few years previously, when on his way to Scotland, placed on the high altar of Saint John of Beverley.

Among other places in which the battle of Brunanburh has been located, a spot near the mouth of the Humber is named by Florence of Worcester, and Bruneshurh-on-Humber by Peter Langtoft, while a modern writer, Mr. C. H. Pearson, favours Brunanbeorh, near Beverley. As it happens, there is no such place as Mr. Pearson mentions near Beverley. If there was, it would be difficult to dispute its claim to the honour of having given its name to the great fight. Peter Langtoft is, however, more accurate. A glance at Mr. Welby's list of names given to the place of battle shows that nearly all of them include the word *Brunan* or *Brune*. In Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, *Brugh*, said to be in North Lincolnshire, is mentioned as the locality. There is a Bourne, formerly Brune, in South Lincolnshire, but there is no Brugh in any part of the county. North of Lincolnshire, however, on the Yorkshire bank of the Humber, is a place called Brough. Here was the Roman station and camp of Ad Petuarium, on the road from Lincoln to York, established to protect the ferry across the Humber. We have thus at Brough a place exactly fitted as a landing-place for the invading Danes and Northmen. It not only furnished a favourable base for operations which were intended to lead to the conquest of Northumbria, but it commanded one of Athelstan's most important lines of communication. A confirmation of the opinion that Brough is intended by *Brunan* or *Brune* may be found in the fact that Symeon of Durham calls the place where the battle was fought Brunanbyrge, *Weondune*, or *Ethrunanwerck*. A local antiquary states that the Roman camp has evidently been much

enlarged by a formidable chain of earthworks, still in existence, which enclose an elevated district forming the southern extremity of the Yorkshire Wolds. The earthworks extend beyond a village called Little Weighton towards Beverley, and the enclosed space is amply sufficient to contain the entire army of the invaders. The names *Weondune* and *Ethrunnanwerck* may have been learnt on the spot by Symeon, and may well refer to the village of Weighton and its surrounding earthworks, near which the battle was actually fought. The neighbourhood of Little Weighton is noted for its earthworks, and the place appears to take its name from being situate on the road or way between Brough and Beverley; as Market Weighton, a few miles further west, is the town on the road to York. Brunanburh has been supposed to have a similar meaning in Celtic, from *brwynen*, a path, and *bur*, an entrenchment. That a great battle was in Saxon times fought on the elevated plain enclosed by the fortifications referred to is certain. Along its whole extent, in every direction, are found long trenches, about seven feet deep and nine feet across at the top, "in which the remains of many thousands of bodies of men and horses, the remnants of leathern belts, accoutrements, iron-bossed shields, dresses, armour, etc., have been from time to time, and are still, found." The bodies had evidently been burnt, as at the bottom of each trench was found about three inches of charcoal and twelve inches of bone-earth, etc. The plain and its surroundings must have answered exactly to the description given in Egil's *Saga* of the field of battle.

I lay no claim to the merit of this identification, which appears to me to be well established. The credit of it is due to the late Mr. Edward Witty, of Cottingham, near Hull, who some years ago, I believe, laid a paper on the subject before one of the Archæological Societies.\* Mr. Witty supported this theory by reference to various local names† which he thought related to incidents of the battle, and which will be

\* I have been indebted chiefly to a "Lecture on the Battle of Brunanburgh," by Mr. C. S. Todd, based on Mr. Witty's researches.

† Many of the villages show their Danish origin by the termination *by*. The battle took place in the parish of Skidby, and Athelstan's camp was at Risby.

found on the Ordnance Survey map. Some of those names at least had probably a different origin, but they are very suggestive.\* Among them is one which certainly does not bear the interpretation put upon it. Numerous tumuli exist in the neighbourhood of "the plains," as the field of battle is still called, and a very large one is known as Howe Hill. This is supposed to have been erected in honour of Howel Dha, the famous Welsh monarch. Apart from the fact that the name Howe may be attached to any tumulus, there is nothing to show that Howel Dha was at the battle of Brunanburh. It could probably be proved that he was not there at all, and he appears to have died A.D. 948, that is, about ten years after the battle. The tumulus on Howe Hill was opened some years ago, and in it were found many hundreds of skeletons, besides portions of iron-bossed shields, weapons, and other objects. If the tumulus did take its name from any Welsh or British prince, it is more likely to have been Owen of Cumberland, who was in the fight, but he is not named among the slain.



## The First Triad of Irish Type.

BY JOSEPH MANNING.

### PART II.

**I**T is plain from the account given in last month's issue that the translation of the New Testament engaged three separate sets of labourers, and the present article will be devoted to these workers. O'Kearney and Walsh began the work; O'Donnellan, O'Donnell, and MacBrody continued it, bringing it to the end of the four Gospels; and O'Donnell and O'Higgin completed it. The latter gave the epistolary part of the work the last finish of oghum and correctness.

The work was evidently regarded as one of great importance by the Government, as

\* Among them are *Rush Hill*, *Westanwoods*, *Thickerdales*, *Cowlers*, *The Blackery*, *Hindercroft*, *The Stripes*, *Beatrix Garth*, *Hell Garth*, *The Lion's Den*, *Warmutts*, *Backaties*, *Lossars*.

appears by its anxiety to promote those embarked on it to important positions. Kearney and Walsh were both offered bishoprics in 1572, the former that of Tuam, and his collaborateur the neighbouring one of Kilmacduagh. Both declined. O'Donnellan was promoted to the Archbishopric of Tuam in 1595. Walsh in 1577 accepted the Bishopric of Ossory, where he met his death at the hands of an assassin named Dullard, whom, Sir James Ware tells us, revenge for being cited into the Bishop's court on an accusation of adultery armed with a skein, with which he stabbed the Bishop in his own house in 1585.

The name of Maoin og MacBrody is identified with the evangelic part of the work. He stood in all likelihood in the same relation to this part that O'Higgin did to the epistolary. He gave it the last polish of oghum and correctness. This connection of two Irish scholars with the revision of the style, will serve to enhance the value of this Irish Testament as a literary production. The work was one of an exceedingly slow growth, extending with intervals of interruption over a space of thirty years, and engaging the exertions of six scholars, four divines, and two Irish literati. One of the Irish scholars, MacBrody, was of a family of the hereditary historians of Thomond; and he himself so early as the year 1563 arrived at the position of chief poet of his tribe, which was seated in the south-west of Clare, and occupied the territories of Ui Fermaic and Ui Brecaín (Ibrikane), the chief families of which were the O'Gradys and O'Gormans. That he was no mean poet we have the testimony of the Four Masters; and we must remember that the title of "poet," as used by them, is equivalent to some such expression as "Professor of Literature and History" with us. His abilities as an historian are proved by the *Book of Maoin og Mac Bruaideadoa*, an historical compilation bearing his name, which dealt with recent events from 1588 to 1602, and which the Four Masters thought worthy of incorporation into their own celebrated production. The work itself of Maoin og has not survived to show to what extent this was done, but the Four Masters are emphatic in their praise of the author. "There was not in Ireland," say

they, "in the person of one individual, a better historian, poet, or rhymist than he."

His poetry served him in good stead on one occasion. When Red Hugh O'Donnell in 1599 made a raid into Thomond, the cattle of Maoin og were carried off by some of his plundering parties. Maoin followed the retreating chieftain, and presented him with an Irish quatrain, which so pleased O'Donnell that he restored the cattle to the poet. The composition of such an affair seems to have been a delicate piece of business just at the time. By flattering the northern Prince, he was almost certain to offend his own immediate lord, Donogh O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, whose lands O'Donnell had ravaged. But Maoin steered clear of the difficulty by his skill in poetry and prosody. His verse described the raid as being foretold long ago by St. Colmcill. The northern chief was flattered by the prophecy, which made him a heaven-appointed agent; while the southern earl was helped by it to shift the blame of what his people suffered from his own unguardedness to the door of a destined fate. The closing line was framed with art to represent, according to the way it was punctuated, all assistance as coming from the north, or from the Lord. The northern chief read it, it may be supposed, the former way, for Maoin got back his cattle; nor was Donogh O'Brien offended, for he naturally removed the point, and read it the latter way. (See O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, an. 1599, note). The poet did not long survive the close of his history and the publication of his labours on the New Testament, for he died on the very last day of the year 1602, which terminated the one and gave the other to the world.

Of O'Higgin we can ascertain nothing certain. There are some slight poetic remains of two persons who bear his name, viz., Donnell O'Higgin—one, the son of Brian—the other, the son of Thomas. The editor of the Testament may be identical with the latter, who was alive in the year 1600, according to the *Poetic Collection of Fergal Mac Ward*, which contains a poem of his of 164 verses, on the election of Turlogh Luineach O'Neill as chief of his tribe in 1567.

From the dedication of the New Testament



to King James I., which is in English, and signed William Daniell, we gain little further information, beyond an acquaintance with the author which is scarcely calculated to improve our esteem of him. A servile canting tone pervades it, and the utter contempt of the Irish people it betrays is simply an outrage. "They have been sitting in darkness," he says, "and in the shadow of death, without hope, without Christ, without God in the world, deprived of this heavenly comfort, but notwithstanding that our late dread Sovereigne Elizabeth of famous memorie, in the beginning of her most happie raigne provided the Irish characters, and other instruments for the presse, yet hath Sathan hitherto prevailed, and still they remain Lo-ruchama, Lo-ammi, through the ignorance of our Ministers, the carelessness of our Magistrates, and the subtiltie of Antichrist and his vassals, the filthy frye of Romish seducers, the hellish firebrands of all our troubles. Yet blessed be the memorie of such as have given the first attempt to enterprise the worke, namely, Maister Nicholas Walsh, that famous Bisshoppe and Martyr, Maister John Kearny, and Nehemias Donellan, whose godly indevours were notwithstanding untimely cut off in God's secret judgment, and the waight of the burden cast upon my weake shoulders, under which burden how conscionably I have groned they only can judge, that can confer this translation with the original Greeke, unto which I tyed myself as in dutie I ought." The absence of all mention of his Irish collaborators is as remarkable as the singular expression with which he accompanies the mention of the English ones, 'that their godly indevours were untimely cut off in God's secret judgment.' He compliments Sir William Usher's "fervent zeal and Christian affection, which," he says, "did greatly kindle mine affection to follow the worke with all earnestnesse." He tells us that "following the steps of his most religious father, he willingly undertook the greater part of the charges of this impression." He further makes allusion to the disastrous time of war in which the work was carried forward, blesses in three successive sentences the memory of Elizabeth, Jehovah, and Lord Mountjoy, and prays thus in conclusion,

"that your Majestie may never want of the fruite of your bodie, to sit on your throne as long as the sunne and moone shall endure. Amen."

The imprint at the foot of the title-page informs us that the work was "printed at Dublin, in the house of Master William Uiseir, near the Bridge, by John Francke, 1602."

The names of the two Ushers, father and son, are inextricably linked with the earliest issues that remain to us of the Irish press. They put their hands into their private purse to tide over the penurious halt of the Government. John, the Alderman of 1571, became Mayor of Dublin in 1574. He seems to have had a reforming mind, in which revolved for the Irish people vast schemes of piety, polity, and plunder. He writ a book, says Sir James Ware, *De Reformatione Hiberniae*. The State Papers tell us of a scheme of his for debasing the coinage, which Archbishop Loftus strongly recommends to the Council in England, as sure to enrich her Majesty to the amount of £10,000 per annum. The same Loftus pressed on the same Council, in the year 1564, Usher's "zeal in the religion of Christ" as a qualification he possessed for farming the tolls of Dublin next Michaelmas. We find him employed on missions between the Irish Government and her Majesty's English Council. Two of his proposals to her Majesty's Council, and these probably in his own handwriting, still remain among the Burghley Papers in the British Museum; one, "for the mayntenance of the staple in her Majestie's realme of Irelande"; the other for the appointment of an agent in Ireland, "who should worke with the compaynes of merchaunds, as well of fflaunders and france, as also Spaine and portingall, for the dispache of our hides at the prices they are now sold for, which is fiftie pounds a laste." This document was entertained, as an elaborate answer divided into nine headings which accompanies it, shows. (In Lansdowne MSS., cxiv. 36.)

Sir William Usher, the elder, Knight, his son, was appointed Clerk of the Council 24th March, 1594. He, too, was zealous for the Reformed Religion, and a faithful servant of the Crown. He contributed his money

to bring out the New Testament, in the interests of the former; and he generously subscribed £200 in 1606 to the army, in the interests of the latter. Another connection of the New Testament, Franckton, its printer, subscribed £40 to the army at the same time.

(To be continued.)



## Notes on our Popular Antiquities.

By W. CAREW HAZLITT.

### II. CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES.

#### THE BORROWED DAYS.

**S**PEAKING of the death of King James I., in 1625, at a time when a furious storm was raging along the Scottish coast, Chambers remarks:\*

"This was long after remembered as the storm of the *Borrowing Days* . . . It is a proverbial observation of the weather, which seems to be justified by fact, the bad weather being connected with the vernal equinox."

#### NUPTIAL USAGES.

*Rings.*—Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, in his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 1883, has shown that the great poet had a precontract with his wife, a matter of common occurrence in those days. The parties plighted their faith to each other before two or more witnesses, and considered themselves practically united in wedlock. The lady seems to have usually received as a token a bent or crooked sixpence, but sometimes, as we shall see, the money was broken between them. Mr. Phillipps cites a case in which the lover presented his mistress with a pair of gloves, two oranges, two handkerchiefs, and a red silk girdle, and this was in the same year (1582) in which Shakespeare was engaged to Anne Hathaway.

The practice of giving Rush rings reminds us to some extent of this system of pre-contracts, to which an allusion has just been made in connection with Shakespeare him-

self. All these loose and uncertain bonds, unsanctioned by the law or the Church, were naturally more or less prone to abuse.

Lady Fanshawe, in her *Memoirs*, mentions that she was married with her mother's wedding-ring, which her father gave her for the purpose. Her words are: "None was at our wedding but my dear father, who, at my mother's desire, gave me her wedding-ring, with which I was married . . ."

The usage of lovers wearing on holidays the rings given to them by their mistresses, may seem to be partly borne out by Chaucer, although the reference occurs in a poem which was little more than a paraphrase of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. In the second book of *Troilus and Cressida* the poet makes Troilus and Cressida exchange rings, "of wych," he adds, "I cannot telle no scripture;" that is, I cannot say what were the posies.

In Cartwright's *Ordinary*, apparently written in 1634, the Antiquary betrothes the widow Potluck with his biggest cramp-ring.

*Bandling.*—According to a writer in the *Penny Magazine*, bandling was well known in Northumberland in or about 1830; but the writer does not seem to have heard that it was attended by very serious evils. But the practice is not confined to this country.

*Banns.*—In the early ballad of *Robin Hood and Allen a Dale*, we have a curious reference to the banns, where the bishop says, in answer to Robin:

That shall not be, the bishop he said,  
For thy word shall not stand;  
They shall be three times askt in the church,  
As the law is of our land.

*Giving away the Bride.*—In *Friar Bacon's Prophecie*, 1604, the father is made to give away his daughter. At one time he also performed the civil ceremony of marriage.

*The Service in the Church.*—In the account of the wedding of Sir William Plumptre and Joan Wintringham about 1450, it is said that the bridegroom took the bride with his right hand, and repeated after the vicar: *Here I take the Jhennett to my wedded wyfe to hold and to have, att bed and att bord, for farer or lather, for better for warse, in sicknesse and in hele, to dede us depart, and tharto I plight the my trouth*, and that Joan made like response incessantly to Sir William, after which the minister said in their presence the mass of the

\* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., i., p. 553.

Holy Trinity. The bridegroom, it seems, was dressed in green checkery, and Joan in red.\*

*Ribbons.*—It is particularly stated by Lady Fanshawe, in her account of the marriage of Charles II. and Catherine of Braganza, at which Sir Richard Fanshawe was a special guest, that the bride's ribbons were cut into pieces, and distributed among the company.

We see in a note to Pepys' *Diary*, under date of January 17, 1667-8, that at the marriage of Princess Anna of Prussia with Prince Frederic of Hesse, May 30, 1853, the Oberhofmeister distributed to the gentlemen present small pieces of riband, on which the initials of the bride were embroidered, and the editor adds that this was a modified form of cutting up the bride's garter. "Formerly," he observes, "it was the custom for a Prussian Princess, immediately on leaving the company, to take her garter from her knee, and send it to the King, who tied one half of it round his own sword-knot, and sent the remainder, as the most attractive present he could offer, to a neighbouring and chivalrous monarch."

*Invitation to the Feast.*—In the *Penny Magazine* for January, 1835, an improved and more ambitious form of communication (among the humbler classes) to the friends of the parties is given. A couple, belonging to Caermarthenshire, are represented as addressing to friends a circular as follows:

"DEAR FRIEND,—We take the convenience to inform you that we confederate to such a design as to enter under the sanction of matrimony on the 19th of February inst. And as we feel our hearts inclining to regard the ancient custom of our ancestors, of *Heliogaeth Gomer*, we intend to make a wedding-feast the same day, at the respective habitation of our parent; we hereby most humbly invite your pleasing and most comfortable fellowship at either of which places; and whatever kindness your charitable hearts should then grant, will be accepted with congratulation and most lovely acknowledgment, carefully recorded and returned, with preparedness and joy, whenever a similar occasion overtakes you, by your affectionate servants,

DAVID JOSHUA,  
MARY WILLIAMS."

\* *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camd. Soc., lxxvii.

*The Feast.*—At the marriage of Philip and Mary, at Winchester, July 25th, 1555, the second course of dishes was claimed, as of custom, by the bearer. One of these, Edward Underhill, in the extant narrative of his imprisonment, etc., 1553-5, has left the following account: "The second course at the marriage of a King is given unto the bearers; I mean the meat, but not the dishes, for they were of gold. It was my chance to carry a great pasty of a red deer in a great charger, very delicately baked, which, for the weight thereof, divers refused. The which pasty I sent into London, to my wife and her brother."

*The Posset or Caudle.*—Montaigne, in his essay *Of the Force of Imagination*,\* speaks of the caudle as having in his time been administered to the bridegroom, not prior to the retirement of the guests, but in the course of the night. He observes in relation to a friend: "For I would do him the office of a friend, and, if need were, would not spare a miracle it was in my power to do, provided he would engage to me, upon his honour, to keep it to himself; and only when they came to bring him his caudle, if matters had not gone well with him, to give me such a sign and leave the rest to me."

But in the story of the *Curst Wife lapt in Morels Skin* (about 1575) the caudle is brought by the mother in the morning.

*Consummation.*—In the time of Montaigne, at least, it came to be a belief in France that, where any ill-will or jealousy existed against the husband, the latter might counteract the malignant influence by repeating a certain charm three times, at each time tying round his middle with a ribbon a certain thin plate of metal inscribed with cabalistic characters; and the essayist furnishes an account of a case in which he assisted a friend in this sort of dilemma. But the idea was of course not confined to the French, though we do not seem to have recognised the practice here in the same form, and our marriage ribbons, whatever their secret import might be, were differently in outward semblance treated and viewed. The same writer† adduces in his graphic fashion many other illustrations of the same kind relevant to nuptial proceedings; but

\* *Essays*, ed. 1877, i., pp. 102-3.

† *Essays*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, i., p. 102.

they are derived, as is usual and natural with him, from any source rather than English, and so fall outside the immediate object before us.

*The Dunmow Flitch.*—In Playford's *Catch that Catch Can*, 1685, is a copy, *set to music*, of the oath to be taken at Dunmow. See a letter from Horace Walpole to Lady Aylesbury, August 23rd, 1760.

*Maritagium.*—This was a fine on the marriage of an heiress similar to the *mercheta mulierum*, but devolved, not on the lord, but the King. An exemption from this tribute formed one of the immunities of the Cinque Ports.

*Mercheta Mulierum.*—With reference to what I have said in the Glossary to the last edition of Blount's *Tenures*, 1874, I now desire to record my impression that this *mercheta* was at the outset both here and elsewhere an incidence of serfdom, that it was subsequently commuted for a fine, but that, as I have shown in my Blount, a freeman could plead exemption even from the latter. But I believe that in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland the practice, like every other relic of antiquity, lingered much longer, and that the commutation was not so great, or the line of distinction so clearly defined; and the laxity in this respect, when the laws of property began to assert themselves, may have had something to do with the discredit cast on the first issue of a marriage among the lower class, and the tendency to favour the second son in testamentary dispositions.

*Cuckoldom.*—A great deal has been said of the cuckoo building no nest of its own, and making use of those of other birds, both for accommodation and hatching. A case lately\* occurred in Cheshire, in which a cuckoo was found to have deposited its eggs in the nest of a wagtail, which was sitting upon them.

*The Skimmington.*—Pepys in his *Diary*, June 10th, 1667, writes: "Down to Greenwich, where I find the street full of people, there being a great riding there to-day for a man, the constable of the town, whose wife beat him."

*Child-bearing.*—It is a belief among the Cornish fishwomen, that the use of the ray-fish, which is common on the north-west, is conducive to parturition.

It was (1877) stated in the *Daily News*, that the practice was known at Bearn or Berne, in Switzerland, of the husband lying down in the wife's stead; and it is also still believed that a pregnant woman may be exempt from suffering or pain, if her husband bears it by proxy.

It is related that when Mary, Queen of Scots was lying in, the Countess of Athole, who was supposed to have magical powers, was at the same place in a similar situation; and it is stated by some one who was at Edinburgh Castle at the time, that Lady Athole cast the pains of her own childbirth on the lady who was attending on the Queen.

Chambers remarks: "It was a prevalent belief of that age, that the pains of parturition could be transferred by supernatural art; and not merely to another woman, but to a man or to one of the lowest animals. Amongst the charges against an enchantress of the upper ranks called Euphani McCalyean, twenty-five years after this time, is one to the effect that, for relief of her pain at the time of the birth of her own sons, she had had a bored stone laid under her pillow, and enchanted powder rolled up in her hair, likewise "your guidman's sark taen aff him, and laid whomplit under your bed-feet: the whilk being practisit, your sickness was casten aff you unnaturally upon ane dog, whilk ran away, and was never seen again."

*Christening.*—At ordinary christenings, at least, it appears to have been the custom in Pepys's day (*Diary*, August 28th, 1667) for the godfather to give the name in the case of a boy, and the godmother otherwise.

*Bishopping.*—There is another and very different process, known technically as *bishopping*. In the printing business it used, before the introduction of the roller, to be the duty of the pressman to see to the bishopping of the balls, made of sheepskin and attached to a stock, which are used to ink the type before printing. These balls, which are of a considerable size, must be kept soft and moist to receive the ink, and this result is, or used to be, obtained by wrapping them after employment, against the following occasion, in a blanket dipped in a fluid not now to be mentioned.

\* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., i., p. 39.

\* *Daily News* for Sept. 4, 1879.



## CUSTOMS AT DEATHS.

*Gloves.*—At the funeral of John Wilson, a Sussex gentleman, in 1640, there were one hundred and fifty pairs of gloves.\*

*The Procession.*—In Cornwall, the manner among the lower orders is to bear the coffin almost level with the ground, slung on trestle-boards, the members of the procession taking turns; and the dead body occupies the centre of the group. There is no hearse or vehicle of any kind (1875). What Gough says about the friends expostulating with the corpse, as they carry it along, makes a little more intelligible the Irish, "Och! why did ye die?"

A writer in the *Penny Magazine* for 1837, in reference to Northumbrian manners and customs, says: "In many places it is usual to invite not only the friends, but also the neighbours of a deceased person to his funeral. This is done by bidders, dressed in black silk scarfs, going round formally. The bidders never used the rapper of the door, but always knocked with a key, which they carried with them for that purpose. In the town of Hexham, until within the last few years, the public bellman went round publicly to invite attendance at a deceased's funeral; on such occasions, a notice somewhat similar to the following was used: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. John Robson is departed, son of Richard Robson that was. Company is desired to-morrow at five o'clock, and at six he is to be buried. For him and all faithful people give God most hearty thanks.'"

*Burial Fees.*—At Wrexham in North Wales, at Seaford in Sussex, and doubtless elsewhere, it is customary to give the clergy double fees where a person is buried not belonging to the parish.

## HANGMAN'S WAGES.

The earliest example of the grant of a prisoner's clothes to anyone is not to the executioner, but to the person whom the authorities chose to dig his grave. Thus in *Adam Bel*, 1536:—

The Justice called to hym a ladde,  
Cloudesles clothes sholde he haue,  
To take the mesure of that yeman,  
And thereafter to make hys graue.

\* *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xi., p. 14.

It reads as if the justice himself performed the office in this particular case; yet the sheriff was present.

## SANCTUARIES.

It is said that even assassins were secure from the arm of the law by the payment of five pounds, if they could reach the principal gate of Chirk Castle in Denbighshire. A privilege, of course, enjoyable only by rich persons. This was a survival of the weregelt.

## DRINKING CUSTOMS.

*Healths.*—In Decker's *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1608, sign. H2, we have: "The third man squires her to a play, which being ended, and the wine offered and taken (for she's no Recusant, to refuse anything), him she leanes too; and being set vpon by a fourth, him she answers at his own weapon, sups with him, and drincks Vpsie Freeze. . . ." The Chinese are said to have a custom somewhat similar to our old supernaculum. When anyone's health is proposed, they empty their glasses and then tap them in concert with or against the thumb-nail.

But in a narrative of the visit of a King of Spain to Petworth House in Sussex, about 1703, it is said: "He, the King, eat and drank very heartily, but tasted no liquors but his own, which were the small drink—water discoloured by the infusion of cinnamon, and the strong red and white Tyrol wine. When he called for either of them, his taster, who is always one of the lords of his bedchamber, brings the liquor in a little bottle, and covers it, or rather hides it with a salver, upon which he pours out what he tastes, near as much as what we call a supernaculum."\*

## OATHS.

In farther illustration of the early employment of the thumb in contracts between man and man, this is an apparent testimony to the existence of a similar usage and creed among the Romans, whose verb *Polliceor* is formed from *Pollex* in its substantive meaning.

In the *Squire of Low Degree*, where the King of Hungary takes the hero out of prison, and makes him swear to keep his counsel, it is said:

The squyer there helde vp his hande,  
His byddyng neuer he should withstande.

\* *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xiv., p. 15.

## TAVERN SIGNS.

*Hanging out the Besom.*—The appearance of a besom on the top of a ship's mast is certainly not always an indication of the vessel being for sale, as it is also usual to place it there when the craft is in port being cleaned. To hang out a besom from a house is, in some places, received as an indication that the master is from home.

*The Red Lattice.*—As Douce long ago pointed out, these lattices were at times occasionally blue, or perhaps rather a bluish-green, and by no means invariably red.

(To be continued.)



## Ralph Allen, Prior Park and Bath.

BY R. E. PEACH.

### PART II.

**P**ERHAPS the most important building, regarded as a single work, on which Wood was employed, was Allen's mansion of Prior Park. It was begun about 1737, and completed about 1743. The traditions as to the relations between Wood and Allen are incorrect. Wood knew, almost as well as Allen himself, the reasons which induced him to build a great house. From the first these two acute gentlemen never attempted to deceive each other by sentiment and flattery. Wood built Allen's town house, and had frequently been his guest and his confidential adviser in business matters. When Allen, therefore, wanted to build Prior Park, Wood knew his man too well to question his ability to pay for it; and the tradition, therefore, that Allen showed Wood drawers full of treasure to convince him that he possessed the wealth required to build the great palace he proposed to erect is a romance.

Thicknesse\* did Allen an injustice when he charged him with carrying on the stone-quarrying business as a blind to conceal the extortionate wealth of which he was robbing the Government in his P. O. contracts.

\* *Prose Guide*, 1788. Thicknesse, it is said, had a spite against Allen.

There is no doubt that Allen had acquired considerable wealth, before Wood came to the city, by his P. O. contracts. Allen first bought some of the quarries and the land around them about 1725, just after the Avon had been rendered navigable to Bristol. By dint of his own enterprise and the invaluable aid of Wood, Allen availed himself very largely of the river communications to send the stone to Bristol, and thus developed the stone-quarrying to a very large extent. For centuries the quarries had been worked, and the stone wrought for facing noble buildings, as well as being largely used for small ornamental articles in courtyards, gardens, etc. These smaller articles in Bath stone found their way to all parts of the kingdom, the stone being so soft and easily worked into the most ingenious forms and patterns; and, being skilfully carved and as durable as the hardest stone known, admitted of little competition. It was, in fact, a very important trade, whilst the larger blocks of stone were used chiefly in the locality. One of the most enterprising of the ornamental stone-cutters was Thomas Greenway, who brought the business to a very high state of perfection, and for forty or fifty years it continued to develop and flourish in the hands of many others, some of whom had been taught their business by Greenway. The house, now known as the Garrick's Head, was built by Greenway, ostensibly to display the elaborate Bath-stone ornamentation. This is the house in which Nash lived, before he removed into the "next door," in which he died, and in which Mrs. Delany, and then Miss Berry, afterwards severally resided. Just before Wood built the "Grand Parades," as he originally designated them, he finished Allen's house\* at the west end of the site. It was here Allen resided, when he gave orders for the quarrying of the stone which constituted only a part of his benefaction to that hospital which has conferred such unexampled blessings upon countless poor sufferers who might have sought relief in vain elsewhere; and which, as a consequence, has made Bath

\* This house is not only still standing, but one of its façades is almost intact. In one of those fits of "improvement" which now and then afflict communities, some Bath citizens, with more money than taste, purchased the house and site in front of it, on which they built mean edifices, which effectually obscured the beautiful house of Wood.

and its waters famous throughout Christendom. The stone business in Allen's hands increased so rapidly that he, about six years after purchasing the quarries on Combe Down, acquired the entire estate of Prior Park and Combe Down, with a single exception, as will be seen, with all the quarries and royalties; and the first thing he did was to construct the two tramways, one connecting the works from Combe Down with the river on the quay in the "Strand," in Claverton Street, and the other from the opposite side, with the river a mile eastward of Bathampton, remains of which can still be seen *in situ*. But more than this, modern Bath was springing up; Queen Square\* was already built, the parades were in progress,† and all built with Bath stone; but still Allen had to contend with the prejudice, the professional opposition of architects, and every species of difficulty by which interested persons could and did impede the sale and use of Bath stone for important buildings remote from Bath.‡ He seemed to have exercised all his faculties in the development of the stone trade; he built cottages for the workmen to be near their work; he erected sheds to protect them whilst dressing the stone; and in thus saving time he saved the cost of production, and also very greatly increased the "out-put;" he established the principle of piece-work, and he did also—what seems to have been unusual in those days—he paid his men weekly, and treated them humanely. The exception, to which reference has been made, was the quarry of Milo Smith,§ one of the promoters of the navigation. He, it appears, opposed Allen on his own ground; but there was another opposition from the master masons, who were determined, if possible, to get the control of the business into their own hands. Allen dealt equitably with Milo Smith, and having purchased his quarry, soon convinced the masons that he was too just to act oppressively to them, and also proved to them that in the matter of the domestic trade he was their best friend. The London archi-

tects, as early as 1728, set their faces against the Bath stone; they were interested in other quarries, and refused to look at the product of the Bath quarries. They compared it to Cheshire cheese, not only in its colour and texture, but in its liability to breed maggots, which would soon devour it; they said it would not bear any weight, and was wholly unfit for London work. At a meeting held in the presence of the governors of Greenwich Hospital, Mr. Colin Campbell, their architect, being present, Wood, with a Bath stonemason, attended to submit specimens of the Bath stone and to compare it with other stone, all of which was laid upon the table. Campbell, by mistake, took up the wrong stone, and pointing out the defects, which he alleged were peculiar to the Bath stone, opened the eyes of the governors to the unprincipled opposition to its use. The direct consequence of which was, that they effected a contract for Portland stone for the works then about to be added to the Hospital at a reduction in price of 30 per cent. One of Mr. Allen's purposes was thus realized; he had exposed the selfish objects of those who opposed the use of Bath stone, and opened the eyes of many whose minds had been prejudiced against it. Many men would have been discouraged by the great difficulties by which his efforts to bring Bath stone into the London market were met; and having so far succeeded, he continued for some time to persevere, though he did not attain complete success. In this spirit he resolved to exhibit the Bath stone in a mansion "near his works, to much greater advantage, and in much greater variety of uses than it had ever appeared in any other structure." When Prior Park was built the fame of Bath stone spread everywhere, and contracts were sought for public and private buildings—in some cases *en bloc*, in others in detail—and these contracts were entered into under the personal supervision of Wood. This arrangement with Wood lasted for five years, and although it terminated amicably, and a clerk of the works,\* together with a staff of competent persons, was appointed to conduct Allen's business, Wood evidently thought himself inadequately paid for his services.

\* Richard Jones, to whom Allen left one year's salary.

\* Began December 10, 1728.

† Finished in 1735.

‡ Block stone in the rough at this period was delivered at the Avon side for 7s. 6d. per ton, and, as Wood asserts, "stone fit for the walls of a palace for the greatest prince in Europe."

§ Mayor of Bath in 1732.

It may be unnecessary to take my readers through the records relating to the Priory Estate. At the time Ralph Allen purchased the estate it was of comparatively little value. The fences were dilapidated, and the lands had been much neglected. The situation was noble, and the configuration admirably adapted for a grand mansion. In the "olden time," before the Dissolution, it would seem that the Priory lands were laid out tastefully and with some degree of grandeur; but even as early as Leland's visit to Bath, during Prior Holeway's time, the "waulles" were neglected and the "dere" were sold, and there were other symptoms of decay. The presage of coming troubles seems to have cast a gloom over the capitular executive, who, though anxious to build a new cathedral or abbey, had allowed their estates to fall into neglect, apparently because exhausting demands had been made upon their financial resources for the building of the abbey, the foundations and a portion of the walls of which were begun by Birde\* and continued by Holeway. Both Birde and Holeway seem to have been men of eminent piety and virtue; no gold stuck to their fingers; and, without discussing the policy of that sublimated ruffian, Henry VIII., in the dissolution of the Monastic institutions, it may fairly be questioned whether it was a righteous act to reduce the Church to beggary; to allow this Prior, by whom the Bath Monastery was surrendered, to starve on "£80 a yere" in a "dwellyng at 20s." per annum; whilst nearly the whole of the Church lands were lavished upon his illegitimate girl by the daughter of the Royal tailor—yet so it was. Holeway's last days were spent in Stubbs Street,† within the South Gate,‡ and the fair work of his and his predecessor's hands (the abbey) was sold with remorseless disregard as to its sacred character, and without the smallest provision being made for the sustentation of the clergy of Bath and all within its jurisdiction. The Royal Reformer thought the Bathonians had no souls, and it is pretty clear that the

\* I am speaking of Birde as the coadjutor of Bishop King, whom he survived, and whose work he continued, devoting all his fortune and revenues to its completion.

† Ultimately merged into Stall Street.

‡ Removed bodily when the walls and gates were pulled down in 1755.

members of the Corporation had very small ones, if it be true, as there is little reason to doubt, that the Commissioners offered them the "carcass" of the abbey, which they declined, on the ostensible ground of their distrust of the Royal Commissioners, but really because they shirked both expense and responsibility. After the Reformation many of the benefices which had been confiscated at the time of the Dissolution were repurchased and restored by the lord and the squire. The Priory lands at the time of the Dissolution originally comprised the Widcomb\* of Camalodunum,† the Lyncomb,‡ the Smallcomb,§ Bathwick, and certain property within the precincts of the walls or liberties of the city. Allen bought the Camalodunum, and it was just under the brow of the hill, at the head of the combe, he resolved to build his great mansion. At the period to which I am referring the site rose somewhat abruptly, and the land was full of water. It was necessary, therefore, to take a wide sweep from the east side and to level it into the grand terrace-like form to the west, which gives it its dignified aspect. It was in the year 1728 that the incident connected with the Greenwich Hospital Governors occurred as to the relative qualities of Bath and Portland stone, which decided Allen to build a large mansion with Bath stone, though it was not until some years afterwards he carried that resolution into effect. When the ground was broken and prepared for the foundation is not clear from any authority to which I have access; but

\* The wide combe, or valley, extending from the road bounding Widcombe House to the head of the *Dunum*, or hill, as the word signifies.

† This Camalodunum must not be confounded with the Camalodunum of Colchester.

‡ Lyncombe signifying the watery valley.

§ The small combe, or valley, running parallel with Widcombe Hill. At the time referred to there was no road either up Widcomb or Lyncomb Hill. The main-road was over the Old Bridge, along the beach and Prior Park road, which led to the private drive to Mr. Allen's house, and was the only carriage access to Widcomb House and Church. Widcomb House was for some years before, and a short time after, Prior Park was built, the residence of Lord Anne-Hamilton, godson of Queen Anne, and third son of the sixth Duke of Hamilton; but I cannot ascertain whether it was he by whom the house was built. Lord Anne-Hamilton was succeeded by Philip Bennet the elder, the friend of Allen, and he by Philip Bennet his son.



from the nature of the soil, and some natural difficulties that had to be overcome, it is probable that the site was not ready until about 1735. Some idea may be formed of the nature of the preparatory work from the fact that, for the foundation or stereobata of the central mansion alone, 800 tons of freestone in large blocks were required, so that for the whole work it may be assumed that the foundation walls required in the aggregate not less than 30,000 tons of stone. The conception of the general plan was on a larger scale, and the building itself more ornate than that which was finally determined upon and carried out. The original design represented "three sides of a duodecagon inscribed within a circle of a quarter of a mile diameter," but one of the offices being merged into the east wing, the extent of the circle was proportionately circumscribed. Nor was this the only important modification of the design. In the first dream of this big house—in the exuberance of his fancy to "exhibit the Bath stone in a seat he had determined to build for himself near his works"—Allen had pictured a mansion in which the "Orders of Architecture were to shine forth in all their glory." But ultimately this ideal, whether on the persuasion of Wood or from his own taste, yielded to a style less elaborate in principle and detail. Writing some seven years after the completion of the house, Wood says (vol. i., p. 96, 2nd edit.), the "Seat consists of a Mansion House in the Center, two Pavilions, and two Wings of Offices. All these are united by low Buildings; and while the chief Part of the whole Line fronts the Body of the City, the rest faces the summitt of *Mars's Hill*."\* It is more likely that the adoption of the less magnificent and costly design was due to Allen's own desire, because Wood says in reference to the grander design, "the warmth of this Resolution at last abating, an humble Simplicity took place." In pursuance of the modified design, the west wing was begun, but again some deviation from the design was made before its completion. This wing consisted of a principal and half-storey, ex-

tending 172 feet 8 inches in front, by 34 feet 4 inches in depth on the plinth course of stone. In the centre there was the hay-house, 20 feet high, with a pigeon-house over it of the same altitude; four six-horse stables; three coach-houses, with a harness-room behind them, at one end; a barn at the other end; and proper granaries, in so much of the half-storey as was to be over the stables, coach-houses, and harness rooms. The stables and hay-house were arched or vaulted over with stone, which was so intended from the first by the architect, who borrowed the idea from the stables of Mr. Hanbury, of Pontypool. The rest of the floorings and roof of the whole were intended to have been of timber, covered with Cornish slate. But in the execution of the building, Allen resolved to make use of nothing but stone for a covering for this wing of offices. This substitution of stone for timber disarranged the architect's plan, and the changing the material of the roof not only interfered with the altitude of some of the offices, but also greatly interfered with the essential characteristics of the building itself. Of the external walls only that which fronts the south was faced with wrought freestone, and this was to have exhibited the Doric order in its plainest dress, but so high as to include the principal and half-storey, those separated by a fascia. A tetrastyle frontispiece in the middle of the whole line before such an advanced part of the building was to have contained two of the staircases, one on each side of the end of the hay-house, and at the same time appear as a proper base-ment of the pigeon-house, which was to have crowned the edifice with magnificence and beauty, for the basement extends 50 feet, and a square of that size in the middle of the building was to have been covered with a pyramidal roof, divided into two parts, and to have discovered the body of the crowning ornament. It will be seen, therefore, in what respect the change affected the edifice. The joists intended for the timber roof had such a projection given them in the design as would have afforded protection in wet weather to persons walking from one part of this wing of offices to the other; when, however, the ends of the joists came to be represented in stone, they were contracted to small corbels, of little use, and less beauty, when considered

\* Applied to that part of Mons Badonca, or Mount Beacon, which we now distinguish as Lansdown. Wood says the name is called so from the initial signifying Temple, and *Dunum*, a hill.

as part of the crowning ornament to columns of the Doric order.

The stables were divided into six recessed stalls on every side, arched, and lined with dressed stone. Allen treated his horses like gentlemen. They were richly caparisoned, and he always had four to his coach, in which he drove out with much state. Wood was not quite satisfied, however, with the stables; he wanted a little more magnitude, and would have preferred a recess at the end of each stall to contain a bin for each horse. This wing was finished about 1736 or 1737, for it must be observed that to follow Wood is like groping in the dark without a single ray of light in the shape of a date to guide one.\* After the completion of the west wing the pavilion was to serve as an arch for coaches to drive under, and as a poultry and pigeon house. This structure was built and finished with wrought freestone; the lower part of it was composed of four hollow legs, each 9 feet square by  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length, every front containing an aperture of 16 feet in breadth, all arched over. The body of the building was crowned at the altitude of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet with a cornice, surmounted by a plain attic, 6 feet in height, supporting a pyramidal design, terminating in an octangular pedestal turret, 10 feet in diameter, covered with a dome, the whole being finished with an ornament consisting of a base, ball, baluster, and vane, making the extreme height 59 feet or 39 feet above the vaulted arch for coaches. The cells for the pigeons were made with wrought freestone. The poultry were similarly cared for in the low building, by which the west wing was united with the pavilion. It consisted of three rooms facing southward, with three apertures to every room, arched over, the whole being constructed of wrought freestone. Some deviation from the plan was rendered necessary by the addition of a closet, which destroyed the continuity of the basement lines of the whole building, from the necessity it involved of placing the pavilion lower than was intended. Another conse-

\* It may be well to state that the domain as well as the mansion during the occupancy of Mr. Thomas, from 1817 to 1827, suffered very much from parsimonious neglect. In 1829 Bishop Baines, of honoured memory, purchased the estate, and repaired as far as possible the mischief done; and, I believe, it was he who built the stately flight of steps on the north side.

quence was that, the line having thus been broken, the architect felt no scruple in laying the foundation of the main central structure higher than was originally intended, and the bottom of the plinth was therefore 15 inches higher than that of the west wing. The building thus elevated stood upon the plinth course of stone, 147 feet in length by 80 feet in breadth, inclusive of the projections in front and rear; and consisted of basement, principal, and chamber storeys, with garrets taken out of the altitude of some of the rooms of the latter. The mansion was constructed of solid wrought freestone of very large dimensions, in equal courses both within and without, so that the walls were equally strong on both sides, and were able to support the incumbent work without being liable to "buckle" under the weight. The rooms in the basement storey were 12 feet in altitude, but a narrow passage running through the middle of the house from end to end was lower by 1 foot; the chimneys in the several rooms were dressed with architraves, some of which were crowned with their proper friezes and cornices all in freestone, and with the same material the door-cases next the passage were made, architraves being worked upon the external faces as the proper dress for the apertures. This passage, by being divided into five equal parts, regularly finished with freestone ornaments, became the beauty of the inside of the basement storey, the rooms of which received their light from square windows in the north front, but those on the south from oblong windows. It should be added, that not only were the walls of the entire house outside and inside built of Bath stone of the best quality, carefully wrought in the sheds—every stone for its place—but the floors of the basement rooms were laid with the hard calcined shelly ragstone, which is the first bed or stratum, or, as Wood further says, the roof of the subterraneous quarries, the next stratum being the "Picking Bed," which is not so hard and durable. On this basement storey was a servants' hall, a house-keeper's room, a butler's pantry, and a room for the footmen, a small-beer cellar, a strong-beer cellar, wine-vault, laundry, bakehouse, kitchen, scullery, larder and pantry; there were also a dairy, milk-room, with scullery, and there was an apartment set aside for

w.c.'s, should "any such conveniences be wanted within the body of the house." The several rooms and passages were arched or vaulted over by stone, and the stairs were also made of stone, so that all the defects peculiar to plaster were effectually avoided in this almost uniquely constructed house. The hall extended from the front (in the south) to the rear of the house, and to the eastward of the hall there was a parlour, study, store-rooms, chapel and back staircase; to the westward a dining-room, drawing-room, bed-chamber, dressing-room, and principal staircase; and to the northward a portico or grand pavilion. The altitude of this pavilion, as well as that of the chapel, was determined by the base of the room, but all the other rooms were covered over at 16 feet in height, the whole of the architectural ornamentations being of Bath stone, though afterwards they were removed from the parlour and dining-room, which, to the disgust of Wood, were then lined with wood, the irate architect denouncing it as a "depredation." Some compensation, however, was vouchsafed to him by his being permitted to finish the whole of the upper stories, passages, and gallery (20 feet high), as well as the chapel, with dressed stone. The chapel was of the Ionic order, sustaining the Corinthian. The parlour was finished in the Ionic order, and the hall, dining-room, principal staircase, and gallery were completed in the Corinthian order. The portico, already mentioned, on the north front was a hexastyle, and it seems that, although divested of its beauty for the convenience of the garret windows, it was designed by Wood to excel in grandeur that which had just been executed by his old rival, Colin Campbell, at Wanstead. The portico consisted of Ionic columns supporting a Corinthian entablature. The columns were 3 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, which exceeds the Wanstead column by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches, the intercolumniation being what is called a *systylos* or *systyle*.\* The entablature was carried all round the house with the exception of the west end, and here it was sacrificed to the exigencies of the windows. Each front was

\* The meaning of this term is that the space between the columns is equivalent to two diameters of the shaft at the bottom, whilst the distance between each of the plinths on which the column or shaft rests is equivalent to its own diameter.

crowned by a handsome balustrade. The grounds from the terrace in front of the mansion sloped down to a lake, which was spanned by an exquisite Palladian bridge.

Ralph Allen was about the middle height, with handsome mouth, firmly set, and this gave him a rather severe expression; but it evinced nothing more than the depth and earnestness of his character, for no man was more sympathetic and capable of tender feeling for others. His ordinary dress was a brown "cut-away" coat of the period, long waistcoat with large pockets, the flaps of which were simply braided, white cambric neckerchief, fine leather "tights," silk stockings, and shoes; for dress, substitute velvet for cloth, and black silk for leather. Prior Park at Allen's death ceased to be what it had been. The society could no longer be kept up. Bishop Warburton, whose wife was the second Mrs. Allen's niece, resided there but little; and after the Bishop's death his widow, who married the Bishop's chaplain, the Rev. Stafford Smith, lived chiefly in Queen Square. Prior Park, after Bishop Warburton's death in 1779, became, either by arrangement or by inheritance, the residence of the first Viscount Hawarden, who married Mary, daughter of Philip Allen, Ralph Allen's brother. Lord Hawarden died in 1803, and was succeeded by Thomas Ralph, second Viscount Hawarden, who died without issue in 1807. With the death of this nobleman all direct connection of Prior Park with the Allen family came to an end.



## Reviews.

*The Ancient Stone Cross at Ambleside.* By CORNELIUS NICHOLSON. (Kendal, 1885: E. Gill.) 8vo, pp. 12.



THE ancient stone cross at Ambleside was pulled down about twenty years ago, and Mr. Nicholson now comes forward to give us a very interesting little history of this monument of the past. We can assure Mr. Nicholson that his little monograph will be considered not without value to those who interest themselves in these side-lights of history.

*Edward Grey, the Last Feudal Baron of Powys, his Will and "Inventorie of his Household Stuff, Plate, and Cattalles."* Introduction by DAVID JONES, with notes by H. W. KING. (Reprinted from *Montgomeryshire Collections*.) 8vo, pp. 28.

This reprint from a volume containing other papers is an interesting relic of an important family history. The Barons of Powys were regal in their power and position, and their inventories are therefore of special interest. This one tells us of domestic utensils, articles of clothing, plate, etc., and Mr. King's notes illustrate some of the obscurer portions very admirably. We should like to see a collection of such useful documents put together into one volume. Mr. Peacock has printed some in *Archæologia* with admirable annotations, and there are many others scattered through the transactions of learned societies. The authors would not, we should think, object to their collection into a single volume, and the result would be of immense use for historians of domestic England.

*Culross and Tulliallan; or, Perthshire on Forth, its History and Antiquities, with Elucidations of Scottish Life and Character from the Burgh and Perth Session Records of that District.* By DAVID BEVERIDGE. (Edinburgh and London, 1885; Blackwood.) 8vo., 2 vols.

The design and working of this book are admirable—just, in fact, what a local history should be; and Mr. Beveridge has, in the execution of his self-appointed task, exercised a rare care and judgment which in these days of hasty and careless work is much to be commended. It has been his object to write the history of this locality from the only sources of history—namely, the muniments and documents of the government centres; and whether we look at the interesting phases of past life which are thus presented to us, or whether we consider the deeper topics of national history which have tinged the local records with something of more than local interest, we are equally bound to record how greatly indebted historical students are to the patient and unwearied labours of Mr. Beveridge.

Culross has not a very startling or exciting history to tell, but it is none the less important. There is a detached portion of the county of Perth lying south of the Ochils along the Firth of Forth, and in this territory is comprised two parishes—Culross and Tulliallan—which are in extent about twenty-two square miles, Culross being distant from Dunfermline about seven miles to the west. The Romans were in this district in A.D. 81 under Agricola, and it was a seat of the early Christian missionaries under St. Serfs in the fifth century, and later on of St. Mungo. The intervening years between these two events have no history to tell; but, at all events, the interest of the district becomes at once clear when we arrive at this early chapter in the history of Christianity.

The town of Culross rose into prosperity under the industrial enterprise of Sir George Bruce in the sixteenth century. The rise of the family of the Bruces opens up a new era in the history of the town—one of them, Edward Bruce, having been created Lord Bruce, of Kinloss, and at the height of

his fortune having built in his native place a fine family seat known as Culross Abbey; the second of them, afterwards Sir George Bruce, having embarked the coal and salt trades, and carried on such extensive commerce as to make his name famous throughout the country. It was to the latter of these two brothers that Culross owes its erection into a burrough.

It would be impossible to relate all the numerous points of interest which the burgh records as made known to us in this book have to tell; for they deal with all the subjects of domestic history from the seventeenth century downwards, and they show in more ways than one—as, for instance, the meeting of the burgh court in the open air at the Borestone—how deeply the roots of local history penetrate to the earliest days of our race. There are records of local government when it was not a mere sham delegated from Parliament, but when it was really an historical succession from the earliest times, with life and vigour in it, and plenty of room for development. There are records of old superstitions and faiths, witchcraft, charms, and other fanciful relics of old religion; and there are glimpses into the historical doings of Cromwell, the rebellion of 1715 and 1745, and many other incidents.

*The Tombs, Monuments, and Sepulchral Inscriptions lately visible in St. Paul's Cathedral and St. Faith's under it.* By P. F., London, 1684. Edited by G. BLACKER MORGAN. Privately reprinted 1885. (Hazel, Watson, and Viney, Aylesbury.) 4to., pp. iv., 190.

Hearne said of Pain Fisher's book that "The tombes, monuments, and sepulchral inscriptions lately visible in St. Paul's Cathedral, etc., written by Pain Fisher is a silly book (abating only the inscriptions), there being nothing of learning or diligence shew'd in it;" but as the only authority on this interesting topic, modern antiquaries will be disposed to say that this is another instance of Hearne's hypercriticism. But whether Mr. Morgan knew of this opinion or not, in his hands the new edition is a work of a very different character from the original, for he has been at pains to thoroughly collate the inscriptions with any other known examples in Dugdale and other authorities, and the result is that the majority of the inscriptions have been re-written and many additions made. Mr. Morgan's book is therefore a boon to London antiquaries and to genealogists. Many important personages, as may well be imagined, were buried in old St. Paul's. The first inscription recorded by Fisher is that of Sir Philip Sidney, said to have been written by King James I. The house of the Sidneys at Penshurst is still a memorial of old English family life, and it is pleasing to turn to St. Paul's Cathedral for a touching monument to perhaps the greatest of a great family. Fisher gives an interesting biographical and genealogical memoir of the men whose memorials he treats of, and this portion of the book will be found to be not the least interesting. This epitaph on Sidney and the adjoining one on Walsingham were written on "only small tablets" and there were no tombs; which occasioned, says Fisher, "a wit of the



late times, merily to discant on the defect thereof in this distique:

Philip and Francis have here no tomb,  
Since great Sir Christopher hath all the room,

which was meant by that memorable man of his time, the late Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord High Chancellor of England, etc." The tomb of Hatton stood close by, and Fisher gives the elaborate inscription, together with a curious acrostic, which hung "close by, written by a poet of those times." Then follow the inscriptions on the tombs of "the pious St. Erkenwald," the "third Bishop of London after the coming in of the English-Saxons," Sebba, King of the East Saxons and others. But of the many "fair memorials" to the great men of the past we cannot speak at length in the space allotted to us for this object. They include the tombs of some of the most interesting men in English annals, and Mr. Morgan has been careful to supply a good index of names occurring throughout the volume, about which we will venture to express an opinion that the tomb-names should have been distinguished from the names mentioned by Fisher in his biographical accounts.

Besides the family history contained in this book, there are many interesting topographical details, such, for instance, as the mention of the houses where the deaths took place, and the birth-places. Fisher lets us take a glimpse, too, at some of his contemporaries, descendants of those whose memorials he records, as when speaking of the Aubreys he says, "A branch of which fair family is that most ingenious gentleman, John Aubrey, of Eston Pierce, com. Wilts, Esquire;" and of Richard Fletcher, Lord Bishop of London, who died in 1596, having "no better monument than those peaces he set forth, the well-begotten offspring of his brain, and also that lovely child of his body, the most ingenious Mr. Fletcher, a person of good learning, and the most ingenious dramattick poet of that age." It will be seen that Fisher is sometimes amusing in his account of these tombs, and there are also some most extraordinary examples of epitaphs which will delight those who have collected such samples of human folly from the records of "God's acre."

We must add that paper, binding, and printing are of the most suitable description and in the best taste, and the issue of only one hundred and eighty copies, each copy being numbered, will make the volume a rarity which many will like to possess.

*The Journal of William Dowsing, of Shalford Parliamentary Visitor for Demolishing the Superstitious Pictures and Ornaments of Churches, etc., within the County of Suffolk, in the years 1643-1644.* A new edition by REV. C. H. EVELYN WHITE. (Ipswich, 1885; Pawsey and Hayes.) 4to., pp. 62.

*The Great Domesday Book of Ipswich.* By the REV. C. H. EVELYN WHITE. (Ipswich, 1885.) 4to., pp. 36.

*Old Inns and Taverns of Ipswich, their Memories and Associations.* By the REV. C. H. EVELYN WHITE. (Ipswich, 1885.) 8vo., pp. 48.

Mr. White is well known as an industrious and painstaking Suffolk antiquary, and these three in-

teresting publications will not be otherwise than welcome to a larger class of readers than those hailing from the land of the South-folk. They all deal with objects of far wider interest than local antiquities can lay exclusive claim to, and so much the more, therefore, are we indebted to the reverend editor who thus places at our disposal such interesting books. Dawson Turner many years ago, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, dealt with the taverns of Norwich, and it is fitting that similar labour should be done for the sister city of Ipswich. Mr. White has entered into his subject with great breadth of knowledge, although he calls it a "holiday" compilation; and we get, therefore, a more than usual interesting memoir on a subject which gives a greater insight into the domestic life of England than almost any other.

The "Domesday Book of Ipswich" is one of the most precious documents now belonging to the ancient borough, and contains some very important entries of 12 Henry VIII., showing "What taxes evy towñ in Suffolk payeth to the Kyng's grace," perhaps the most perfect book of taxation belonging to any court in England; and affording, of course, a good idea of the position held by the several parishes and townships in the early part of the fifteenth century. The list of Knights' fees of the honours of Lancaster and Leicester, lying within the county of Suffolk, also finds a place; and then comes a brief but singular memorandum of ancient lineal measurements, which is unquestionably of the greatest importance.

We have no space to dip into the dismal record of William Dowsing's doings, but no doubt it is a specimen of what went on all over the country at that time of fanatical hatred. We of this age who love art and antiquarian objects for their own sake cannot but lament such terrible doings; but in some measure we can understand the spirit which dictated the need for them. Suffolk suffered severely, and the bare walls of her churches represent evidence only too patent of the truth of Dowsing's journal, although it is interesting to note that her own sons lent no willing hand in the work; for, relative to some windows at Cochie, it is said they "could not reach, neither would they help us to raise the ladders."



## Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

**Royal Archaeological Institute** (continued from p. 174).—On Friday, July 31st, Bakewell Church was visited, where there is a most extensive and varied collection of Saxon and early Norman headstones, crosses, and memorials. Arbor Low, on the summit of the moor between Youlgreave and Hartington, was next visited. On the return to Rowsley Station a short call was made at Youlgreave Church, which was pleasantly explained by the vicar, the Rev. R. C. Roy. The most noteworthy object therein is the font, which has

a small projecting basin attached to the side. This unique feature in an English font is most probably explained by its being designed for use as a holy-water stoup at the time when the font stood close to the entrance. On Friday evening the Rev. G. F. Browne, of Cambridge, gave an admirable address, rich in painstaking research, "On the Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones of Derbyshire." It was profusely illustrated with full-size rubbings and drawings. On Saturday, August 1st, the first visit of a long day's excursion was paid to Sawley Church, chiefly remarkable for the remains of its ancient fittings and arrangements. Dale Abbey, with its Hermitage, quaint little church, and carefully excavated ground-plan accomplished by the local society in 1878-9, was most carefully inspected. A wooden but well-adapted building has been built over most of the exposed site of the chapter-house, thereby securing shelter for the effigy and various incised memorials there uncovered *in situ*. Round the building are ranged on shelves the tiles and various interesting fragments then unearthed. Subsequently the churches of Morley and Breadsall were visited, and both described by Dr. Cox. Morley is rich in brasses and in old glass, chiefly from Dale Abbey on its suppression. Breadsall is famed for a beautiful alabaster Pieta, or Virgin and the dead Christ, recently discovered beneath the flooring. On Saturday evening, Mr. H. S. Skipton's paper "On the House of Cavendish" was delivered. On Monday, August 3rd, the antiquaries made their first pause at Repton, so celebrated in Saxon times as the capital of Mercia, and the first seat of a Christian bishopric in the Midlands. The great monastery founded here in the seventh century was a favourite burial-place of the Saxon kings. The fine parish church of St. Wystan afterwards rose upon the site of the old monastery. The church, which in its main features is of Decorated date, was briefly described from the interior by Dr. Cox. From Repton the party proceeded to Breedon Priory, the only part of the whole expedition that has transgressed into other counties. Breedon is a well-known landmark just within Leicestershire, and the summit of the hill is crowned with a church. Mr. St. John Hope pointed out that the present parish church consisted of the choir and side aisles, with what used to be the central tower, of the Augustinian Priory Church of SS. Mary and Hardulf, the south transept being used as a porch and vestry. Melbourne Church is a well-known and grand example of Norman cruciform work, which remains much as it was erected at the beginning of the twelfth century. Melbourne Hall, with its beautiful gardens laid out in the Dutch style, was next visited. Mr. Fane, the present tenant, showed some valuable seventeenth-century documents, including an autograph letter of Archbishop Laud. The feature of the evening meeting was a paper of Baron de Cosson on the military effigies of Derbyshire, which he described as being of special value and beauty, and for the most part unusually well preserved. They are forty-seven in number, and illustrative of most of the types into which the baron divides our English effigies. On Tuesday, August 4th, Castleton was visited, and the ascent from the village to the Peak castle was undertaken, where Mr. St. John Hope read a paper on its history and distinguishing characteristics.

Little more than the keep now remains, a Norman rectangular tower, about sixty feet high, probably erected by William Peverel soon after the Conquest. But the herring-bone masonry at the basement points to a yet earlier building. The splendid church of Tideswell occupied the attention of the Institute for some two hours. It is a wonderfully fine example of fourteenth-century work, and the chancel and transepts abound in interest. The Rev. S. Andrew, the vicar, gave the best account of a church to which the members have listened during their present meeting. On Wednesday the last excursion was made to the ruined chapel of the manor-house of Padley, to Hathersage Church, and to the prehistoric fortification of remarkable character termed "the Carl's Wark."

**Essex Archaeological Society** (*continued from page 176*).—At this point where this road reaches the Straight Road it crosses another road or earthwork, which proceeds from a small camp, and runs parallel with the Straight Road, north and south in direction, and this is the starting point of the Colchester and Cambridge Road, the Via Devana. It then makes a bend towards the north-west, going directly across two fields to a spot in Grymes Dyke, where the ditch of this latter earthwork has never been excavated. Across these two fields the plough has almost obliterated it, but it may be readily traced by the different appearances of the crops in a dry spring. Under about fifteen inches of soil that there still exists about a foot in thickness of stones, nearly fourteen yards wide, under which the top soil has been removed. These stones appear to have been mixed with chalk or lime, and rammed down very thoroughly, many, in fact most of them, being broken in the operation. We have now arrived at Grymes Dyke, and a line from this spot to the present bridge at Stanway, where we shall come on to the present London Road, will take us near a raised hedgerow running across two fields to a modern road where the crossing is distinct, and still following the raised bank, which has on it a private road to Black Pits Farm, the house standing also on it, we follow the hedge to the road, by a cottage near Stanway Villa, and find traces across this road and down the next hedge, the bank of which is unusually large. After this the traces are very indistinct to Stanway Church, but in 1884, the spring being very favourable from its dryness, it was very easy to trace the course by the appearance of the growing crops. Having carried this disused road into the present turnpike near Stanway Bridge, it only remains to say that the continuation of it past Stane Street, Marks Tey, and on to Bishop's Stortford through Dunmow is unmistakably Roman, and was probably in existence when Boadicea came in this direction from Verulam to Camulodunum, as is related by Tacitus. The present turnpike road to London, which branches off at Marks Tey, is also, in many parts, clearly Roman in formation. The road from Headgate through Lexden may be Roman, but if so is very late, as in drainage operations many urn burials have been disturbed opposite The Avenue, Beverley Road, and so on. They would not have been deposited by the Romans in a public highway. Taking the next road in order, the Via Devana, leaving the suggested London Road near the spot it crosses the Straight Road, Lexden Heath.

This runs directly north, and parallel to the Straight Road, until we come to Lexden village, opposite to the present entrance to the Cambridge Road, and here a few yards from the turnpike road, in a cottage garden, is a stratum of stones on the sandy subsoil, evidently artificial and apparently mixed with chalk, but from the buildings and fruit-trees Mr. Laver was unable to determine the width. This is a portion of the road, especially as it is in the direct line; if it be so, then the present Cambridge Road is, probably, the remains of the Via Devana. In some places it has a very suggestive appearance of a Roman road. It is an old road, and runs into an unmistakable Roman road, the well-known Causey at Ridgwell, passing on to Haverhill, and over the Gog Magog hills to Cambridge. It may be objected that between Lexden and the present railway bridge it is very crooked; so it is, but why? Anyone inspecting it, will see that it runs just on the edge of the valley of the Colne; had it been more to the north, it would have passed through very broken ground, and nothing would have been saved in distance, and this is the explanation of its tortuous course. Some of this portion is raised, and has a very Roman look, especially near Mr. Jones's lodge, and for some distance beyond. The first village we come to in traversing this road after leaving Lexden is Ford Street, a very suggestive name. Beyond this village the road is evidently modern, still it is probably on the line of the Roman road, as the direction is right for the ford through the Colne at Earls Colne. From the south end of Blue Bell Grove, at the back of Lexden Park, runs an earthwork through the Park, crossing the turnpike road, and passing through the Rectory grounds—here it was levelled by the late rector—and continues to the river near the Oil Mills, crosses the river and proceeds in a direct line to the Bergholt Road. The traces from hence to the brook are very indistinct, the plough having almost obliterated them, but sufficient remain to enable one to follow the course in an almost straight line to Horkesley causey, an unmistakable Roman road as far as the turning near Great Horkesley Church; and as the present road is continued to the river Stour, we may fairly assume that this road also followed the same line into Suffolk. From the North Gate of Colchester, opposite North Bridge, a road may have issued; but, if so, it did not follow the present North Street, as, during the late drainage works, the remains of a Roman villa were found in the middle of the street, opposite the Victoria public-house, and they were continuous with the remains uncovered by Mr. Joslin in the garden of this public-house. This, then, plainly shows that had a road existed in this direction, it could not have been on this line. The next gate on the north side is the Rye Gate, opposite the ford at Middle Mill. From this gate probably a road issued, but no remains of it exist, unless the lane directly opposite the ford on the other side of the meadows may be the road we seek. This lane is raised above the surface of the surrounding fields, but disappears at the next farmhouse; but if we carry the line on towards the railway, we pass close to Mr. Money's brickfield, and here we come on to what was a considerable cemetery, many Roman cinerary urns having been discovered, besides burials by inhumation, accompanied by the usual jet or

Kimmeridge shale ornaments, earrings, and one, at least, fine engraved gem. Below the Castle, and to the east end of the Rye Gate, on Mr. Round's property, is the gate, described by Dr. Duncan in his account of the Roman Cloaca, but it is now covered up again. Whether any road left this gate is uncertain, although, as Dr. Duncan mentions the wheelmarks, it is probable some traffic went out, but Dr. Laver has not been able to find any traces of a road. From the East Gate of the town (the Prætorian Gate?) we may suppose a road to proceed, but no distinct traces are found, unless we consider the present road to Stratford (*Ad ansam*) to be this road. The soil over which this straight road passes is mostly clay, until near Dedham, and during the many years when roads were neglected the original road may have perished by wear, and the present road may have been formed on the same line, although not on the exact site; but that this was the course of the Roman Road does not admit of doubt, as it is the shortest course to Stratford (*Ad ansam*) of the Itinerary, and the distance—six miles—tallies. On the Suffolk side of the Stour, at Stratford, the road passes on the right side of the present one through the street, if the gravel beneath the garden soil is an indication, and just beyond this gravel are proofs of urn burial, some portions of the urns being in the Museum. There is now a pretty direct road to Harwich through Elmstead Market, and this may have been the road, a considerable agger existing on the left of the present road near the first brook after passing Elmstead, and this may be traced down the hill across the valley and up the next hill through the wood on the other side; and the next house on the left is named Cold Hall, a very suggestive name taking the place frequently of Cold Harbour. From this road opposite the turning to Elmstead Church is a road leading almost in a straight line to Alresford Ford, this ford being, probably, the means of access to Brightlingsea Island, and it is near this ford that we have discovered and excavated an extensive Roman villa, another villa being known to exist just over the ford. On the south side of the town is the next gate, St. Botolph's Gate, and from this gate issued the road to Mersea Island. The Roman roads in this whole district have usually, as before mentioned a large fosse by the side, especially when passing through gravel, the excavated gravel being used probably to form the road. This formation of the road renders it very difficult, at times, to say when the agger was formed for defence and when for traffic, not that there is any difficulty with this road, its course and termination removing all doubt; but the fact of the knowledge of the fosse helps us to trace what remains of this road, and the first place we notice anything is by the side of St. John's Abbey wall. Here the Norman builders evidently took advantage of the fosse by placing their wall by its side and enlarging the fosse to enable it to be used for traffic, and at the same time to make a better defence on this side of the Abbey. Further on, past the Camp, the enlarged fosse allows the road to pass as far as Plum Hall; at the back of Plum Hall, just at the edge of the valley, is a slight remnant of the road, of which there is no further trace until we cross to the other side, when we find the footpath passing along the fosse for one field; it then mounts the road through two fields, and then we lose

all traces until we get into the field next Monk Wyke, where we find the stack-yard is on the road, which passed between the ponds at this farm, and then the agger is very distinct on the other side of the field, where there are some large trees. In the next two fields the plough has considerably levelled it, but it still stands up unmistakably two or three feet high, in a line with the present raised road on the east side of Berechurch Park, where the right-of-way still exists. On following this road to the brook, known as the Roman River, we come to a ford, a little to the right of the line. In the exact direction the road takes, there is a foot bridge over the brook just below the junction of the Birch and Laver Breton branches of the streams, and here, probably, was the ford into the park of Abberton House. Although we now lose all traces, still, by following the path into the next road near Abberton Church, we find distinct traces of our road on the opposite hedge, and these continue up to Abberton Church, which stands on it; beyond Abberton Church the traces are lost. Carrying on the same line we have been following, we shall pass near the old parsonage house of Abberton on the top of the hill. Descending to Peet Tye, one of the hedges is considerably raised; this may possibly be a trace, but we get nothing distinct until we come to Peet Hall causey, and if there was nothing more to lead us, this term would, as elsewhere, give a clue. From this point to the Strood we are again on our road, much of it being raised. With regard to the Strood, this causey is of great antiquity, and is probably Roman work. Its antiquity is shown by the fact that there is no tradition as to its origin, and as the Romans occupied the island they would have some means of getting there. We may safely assume this to be their work, especially when we consider the communication there must have been between Camulodunum and Othono on the other side of the Blackwater. We also know that, in addition to the fine villa at West Mersea, there was a fort at East Mersea Point, forming part of the system for the protection of the Saxon shore. The present road from the Strood to East Mersea, straight through the island, is probably Roman, and if so, the termination of the road we have been considering. From Headgate Dr. Laver has not been able to trace any road as issuing, but there may possibly have been one, as there was a considerable cemetery on the right side of the present Butt Road, opposite the Artillery Barracks, and between there and the town. In this cemetery were found the stone coffin now in the Museum, some lead coffins, and many cinerary urns. Many of the interments, indicate rather a late period. At about two miles and a half from the west side of the town is a very extensive earthwork, with the trench on the west side. It is in the greater part of its extent fairly perfect, and may be readily traced from a ford over the Colne, at Newbridge, to Butcher's Green, Stanway, where it makes a turn (with a double entrenchment of a triangular form in the angle) to the south-west, and then passes on to a ford over the Roman River, near Stanway Hall. There is a slight trace in the meadow beyond the river on the Birch side, but here all traces end. Can this enormous earthwork, nearly four miles long, have been simply the boundary of the Roman colony of Camulodunum? It would appear so, as Roman remains of all sorts

abound on the eastern or town side, but none are found on the western. From both terminations being fords, it looks as though it might have been used as a road, and there is a road still existing throughout the entire length, on the eastern side as far as Stanway Union House, and then it passes into the trench on the western side, and so continues to the brook near Stanway Hall; but after passing Butcher's Green, the road is partly in the trench and partly in the field, until we reach the present Maldon Road, two fields from Butcher's Green. It may have been that this road on the vallum was made use of in going to the entrenched camp near Birch Church, known as Birch Castle, as there is a branch on Lexden Heath easily traced to Butcher's Green, from the road which has been designated the London Road. The construction of this huge earthwork is not that adopted by the Romans in making their principal roads, and this makes it doubtful whether its primary object was that of a road. In the gravel pit near Stanway Union House, there is a section of this earthwork. It was evidently made by putting the top soil from the trench on to the natural surface, and then as the trench was excavated, the soil was piled up until the vallum was completed.—Mr. Laver also drew attention to a plan drawn by Mr. F. E. Morris, of Colchester, showing the situation and design of the Roman villa excavated at Alresford. He remarked that the villa was formed on the same plan as that which had been excavated, and was now on view at Brading, in the Isle of Wight. At the Alresford Villa there had apparently been two long corridors and a large number of rooms. It was a very extensive villa, and probably only about half had been found. It was one of the largest ever disinterred in the county of Essex. The whole length of the villa was over 200 feet. This had introduced him to a very interesting matter which he had not understood before. It showed him that more than one common hedgerow in this district had been formed in Roman times. This was a very extraordinary fact which did not admit of doubt. There was absolute proof in this case at Alresford that the modern ditch running into the river was in existence in Roman times, its direction being identical with that of the old drain of the villa. There was proof that this Roman house at Alresford had glass windows. Mr. Laver produced several pieces of glass which had been found in the villa, including one which had been the corner of a pane. The glass was plate glass, which had never been polished, a beautiful glass, superior in its manufacture to glass of the present day. That it must have been very excellent glass was testified by its preservation. There was no lead in it; but silicate of soda principally, instead of lead.

**Surrey Archaeological Society.**—July 29th.—The annual excursion to Lingfield and Crowhurst.—In the absence of the Right Hon. Viscount Middleton, Lord Hylton acted as president. The members and friends met at Edenbridge railway station, whence they drove to Lingfield Church. Arrived at the latter place, the history and architectural features of the edifice were described by Major Heales, and Mr. J. G. Waller offered some remarks on the monuments and brasses. The company next visited the old farmhouse of New Place, Lingfield, the history and architecture of which were described by Mr. C. E. Powell.



Passing on to Crowhurst Church, unavoidable circumstances preventing a visit to Crowhurst Place, as was intended, Mr. Ralph Nevill briefly described that structure, and referred to the fine old yew-tree in the churchyard.

**Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.**

—Aug. 3rd.—Visit to Rievaulx Abbey.—The party went to Helmsley, which is a small market-town picturesquely situated upon the banks of the river Rye. The spacious market-place, with its towering monument erected to the memory of the late Lord Feversham; its ancient market-cross and rude town's pump, enclosed within palisading, formed an attractive introduction to what proved to be a most enjoyable visit. Helmsley was one of the favourite scenes of the sports and revelries of the notorious George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, after his retirement from the Court of Charles II., and Helmsley Castle is situated upon an eminence overlooking the town. An inspection of the ruins was made, and much information appropriate to the visit had been prepared by the President of the Society, Mr. T. T. Empsall.

**Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society.**

—Aug. 22nd.—The members of this society paid their annual visit to York.—A visit was paid to Heslington, where Mr. Bateson-de-Yarburgh, jun., kindly showed the party over the hall and the grounds. It had been arranged by Mr. Shires, who is secretary of the York Architectural Association, to visit several of the churches of the city. Time, however, would only permit of one being visited, that of Holy Trinity in Micklegate, and Mr. Hepper conducted the party over the building.

**Berwickshire Naturalists' Club.**

—July 31st.—The third meeting of this club, in conjunction with the second meeting of the Archaeological and Architectural Society of Durham and Northumberland, was held in the neighbourhood of the North Tyne. They drove to Haughton Castle, the interesting history of which was given by the Rev. G. Rome Hall, Vicar of Birtley (North Tyne), while the architectural features were explained by Mr. Hodges. A move was then made to the fine church at Simonburn. After an examination of the edifice, which has undergone considerable restoration, the Rev. Canon Rogers, rector, related the history of the parish. Mr. Hodges again gave a description from an architectural point of view, after which they proceeded to Chipchase Castle, the seat of Mr. Hugh Taylor. The Rev. G. Rome Hall read an account of the Castle from an historical point of view, and Mr. Hodges entered into an architectural explanation. The party drove by way of Chollerford to Chollerford. After dinner papers were laid before the club on a cist found near Eckford, by the President; on Sculptured Rocks, in Fowberry Park, by W. Gunn; and on the ravages in the pastures of Upper Ettrick by caterpillars of the Antler Moth.

**Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.**

—The annual excursion of the Society took place on August 28th. The first place visited was Sancreed Church, where the Vicar, Rev. H. Rogers, read a paper on the sacred edifice, which is of considerable interest from the curious wood carvings of the screen, apparently of Spanish work of the fifteenth century. The three ancient Celtic crosses of the churchyard were then examined, including the curious one, figured

in Rev. S. Baring Gould's *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, on which the Holy Grail (a characteristic Cornish symbol, though exceedingly rare, nay, almost unique in church architecture) is supposed to be depicted. This cross is thought to be of the eleventh century. The party then visited an ancient chapelry close by, with a baptismal well. At the Sancreed Vicarage some curious antiquities, coins, and other curios were exhibited. From Sancreed the party proceeded to Goldherring, where the President, Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, read a paper on the ancient-cupped or inscribed stone there, which is almost unique in Cornwall, but seems to have some connection with the Northumbrian inscribed stones. He suggested that it might have been a rude map for the tanners of Goldherring to find their way to certain places in the neighbourhood. An old "Jew's house," or old smelting-place, was next examined, and some pieces of ancient tin slag exhibited. From here the party proceeded to an ancient British village of beehive huts, and then to the famous circle of Boscawen, where luncheon was provided. After a few remarks on this circle from the President, and from the proprietor of the estate, Major Ross, the party proceeded to the celebrated church of Buryan, the points of which were explained by the Rector, Rev. R. Martin. The most interesting points were the beautiful screen (one of the finest in Cornwall), the tomb of Clarice and the Norman Arch. A photograph of the party and of the churchyard cross was taken at Buryan. The seventeenth-century house of Bos-henna next commanded attention, where a paper on the history of the building was read by the President, and a detailed account of the structure of the edifice by the architect, Mr. Trounson. The celebrated stone circle of the Nine Maidens, and the Pipers (two fine menhirs), were visited on the road to the cave-dwelling at Trewoofe, which was examined by the party, who thence walked to the ancient manor-house of Trewoofe, once the most important in the Land's End district, but now transformed into four farm-houses; there the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma read a third paper on the history of the house and the folk-tale attached to it, which is of considerable interest as one of the best-known Cornish folk-tales, having been dramatized in a rude way in one of the most popular old Cornish Christmas plays.

[Our report of the Meeting of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archaeological Society is unavoidably postponed.]



## The Antiquary's Note-Book.

**First Mention of a Blue Book.**—Archbishop Laud supplies us with probably the first notice of a Parliamentary Blue Book. On the 2nd of September, 1644, he was brought to the House of Lords to make a recapitulation of his answers to the charges urged against him, and he says: "So soon as I came to the bar, I saw every lord present with a new thin book in folio, in a blue coat. I heard that morning that Mr. Pryn had printed my Diary, and published it to the

world to disgrace me. Some notes of his own are made upon it. The first and the last are two desperate untruths, besides some others. This was the book then in the lords' hands, and I assure myself, that time picked for it, that the sight of it might damp me, and disenable me to speak. I confess I was a little troubled at it. But after I had gathered up myself, and looked up to God, I went on to the business of the day.'—*History of the Troubles and Trials of Archbishop Laud*, vol. iv., p. 369.

**Dryden and Pope.**—One of the anecdotes told of the late Mr. Thoms, related to an interview with Lord Macaulay when the historian declared that Pope never mentioned Dryden in the *Dunciad*, while Mr. Thoms had the passage turned down in a copy of Pope he then had in his pocket. Mr. Sanderson recently took up the cudgels on behalf of Lord Macaulay, and declared there was no such passage; but the following letter, the signature of which we recognise as that of a great Pope authority, clears up an interesting bibliographical fact. It appeared in the *Daily News* of Sept. 30th last: "There are not many left of the literary friends of the late Mr. Thoms, but there are fortunately others, beside the writer of the paragraph in the *Athenaeum*, who have heard Mr. Thoms relate the anecdote of Lord Macaulay and the *Dunciad*. Mr. Sanderson is obviously unaware that there are numerous editions of Pope's satire, which all, more or less, differ one from another. The name mentioned in one edition is omitted in the next, and perhaps restored in a third. There were at least seven editions or issues of the *Dunciad* published in 1728. This is of course puzzling to those who use Abbot's *Concordance of Pope*, of which the references only apply to Warburton's edition of Pope's works, 1751. The passage which Mr. Thoms believed to refer to Dryden occurs only in the issues of the rare first edition—Book I, c. 94. 'And furious D—n foams in W—n's rage.' Whatever Mr. Sanderson's opinion may be on the subject, some of Pope's contemporaries believed that D—n was intended for Dryden, and it is so explained in one of the contemporary *Keys to the Dunciad*. It appears, moreover, from a note in a London edition of 1729, that in a Dublin edition of the work, the name Dryden was actually printed in full.—F. G."

**The Dukedoms of England.**—In the new report of the *Historical MSS. Commission* just issued, there is given a letter from John Anstis, Garter King-at-Arms, to Lord Townshend (temp. 1727 or 1728) relative to the title to be given to Frederick, Prince of Wales. It is there related that "all the counties of England and Wales gave Denominations save the following ones: Gloucester hath been esteemed unfortunate; Northumberland was an earldom for several descents in Percy; Flint was never a title, but esteemed an appendage to the earldom of Chester; Brecknock is void by the attainder of the late Duke of Ormond; Glamorgan, the family of Beauford allege they have some signet from Charles I., but no patent; Merioneth is a word of that sound that no person ever took it; Cumberland was in Prince Rupert and in Prince George of Denmark, who had an Act of Parliament for precedence, but limited to the term of his own life; Lancaster is of a particular nature, and without consulting two Acts of Parliament, which

have not hitherto been printed, I cannot determine whether by that in the first Henry IV. the dukedom can be granted separate from the possessions, or whether by the method of entaile in the first of Edward IV. it can be granted. . . . All the cities of England give denominations to the nobility save London, Westminster, Canterbury, Durham, and Ely, Gloucester, Bath, and Wells." With reference to Northumberland, Westminster, Durham, and Bath, it will be observed that these remarks do not at the present time apply, but the whole letter of Garter King-at-Arms is a curious one, and of not a little interest to those who pay attention to the history of England's titled aristocracy.

**A Seventeenth-century Book Collector.**—Hearne, in his *Diary* just published by the Oxford Historical Society under the title of *Hearne's Collections*, has the following curious note (p. 268): "Dr. Mill tells me y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Lauderdale was in his younger Days one of the best Scholars of any Gentlemen in Paris, and y<sup>e</sup> Dr. Hicks learn'd Hebrew just before he went to be his chaplain on purpose y<sup>e</sup> he might be able to discourse with his L<sup>d</sup>ship in Rabbinical Learning. That he was a Curious Collector of Books, and when in London would very often go to y<sup>e</sup> Booksellers shops and pick up w<sup>t</sup> curious Books he could meet with; but y<sup>e</sup> in his Elder years he lost most of his Learning purely by minding too much Politicks."

**Professional Oath-takers in 1597.**—Of the rogueries of the more lax professors of the law there is curious picture in an amusing account of "common baylers," published in 1597, called *The Discoverie of the Knights of the Poste*. It is said, "you may have them most commonly in Fleete Street, about Serjeants' Inn, or else about Chancery Lane, or else in some of the pudding-pie houses at Westminster." Other resorts of these "good oath-takers" are mentioned thus: "Out of Term-time, you shall have them commonly once or twice a day walking in Duke Humphrey's Alley in Powles [St. Paul's], or at the Lion at the back-side of St. Nicholas's shambles, or at the Rose in Pannier Alley, or at the Dolphin at the end of Carter Lane, and sometimes at the Wool-sack in the same lane, and there lie crushing of the two-penny ale-pot by halfe a day together."

**The Derby "Headless" Cross.**—A curious piece of antiquity is to be seen in the Derby Arboretum. It is a fragment of an old stone cross that once occupied a spot in the northern extremity of the town. Considerable historic interest is attached to this archaeological curiosity, owing to its being a relic of the great plague of 1665. The fearful pestilence, the historians tell us, raged so fiercely in Derby that the streets were deserted, and business totally suspended. The country-folk fearing to come to market, the supply of food became scarce, and a famine was threatened. To prevent this latter evil, the inhabitants erected a market-cross on what was known as Nun's Green, an open space just out of the town. Hither the market-people, "having their mouths primed with tobacco as a preservative," brought their wares, being cautious, however, to keep at a safe distance from the townspeople with whom they traded. The rules which were established to prevent infection were these: The buyer was not allowed to

handle the goods until he had made arrangements for their purchase; and then, before taking them away, he would drop the money into a bowl of vinegar, provided for the purpose. It is curious to consider what confidence would have to be established betwixt buyer and seller, the former not being able to examine the article before purchase, nor the latter his money. After the plague had ceased, the cross still remained, but time and other destructive natures have dealt roughly with it; and for a great number of years it has been known as the "headless cross," the lower portion being all that is left. Some time ago, the old relic was removed to its present *locale*, a brass plate telling its story placed upon it, and there it stands, an object of interest which the inhabitants of Derby justly prize.



## Obituary.

### MR. CORNELIUS WALFORD.

In Mr. Walford the *Antiquary* loses another valued friend and contributor. During the present year Mr. Walford had promised to write some papers on "The Early History of Newspapers," and we much fear that now much of the collections of his unwearied hands and brain will become scattered. The editor of this magazine a few years ago dined for the first time with Mr. Walford, at his house, and met there Professor Stanley Jevons, and Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, and it was one of the pleasantest of literary gatherings. But of the men who gathered round that hospitable table, only two are now left, the writer and one other. Perhaps the last complete literary effort of Mr. Walford was his characteristic booklet on "Hospitality," printed for the "Sette of Odd Volumes," of which club he was an honoured member. The *Times*, in its obituary notice, remarks: "He was a man of many and varied attainments, and an indefatigable worker in several branches of literature and science. The eldest son of the late Mr. Cornelius Walford, of Witham, near Chelmsford, Essex, he came of a family long connected with that county. He was brought up to the legal profession, and served his articles in the office of Messrs. Pattisson, of Witham, where he was extensively engaged in the management of landed property." Somewhat late in life he was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, in Michaelmas Term, 1860. He was the author of *The Insurance Cyclopædia*, of which he has lived to complete five volumes; and not long before his death he had projected a similar Cyclopædia of Serial and Periodical Literature. He was also the author of *The Insurance Guide and Hand Book*, *The Insurance Year Book*, and of works on *Fairs and Gilds*. Mr. C. Walford was an active member of the Royal Historical Society, of the Topographical Society of London, and of the Statistical Society, before which he read many elaborate papers. Mr. Walford was three times married, and has left a family.

## Antiquarian News.

Mr. E. Cunnington, writing to the *Times* from Dorchester, says:—Among the many Celtic barrows that characterise this part of Dorset, none have yielded such interesting results as the one I have just opened. It is situated on the high ground overlooking the sea, close to the Ridgway, on the part of Mr. John Mayo's farm called Upway Down. Its diameter is 114 feet, its perpendicular now 13 feet above the surrounding soil. In opening the centre only 18 inches deep a cremation interment was reached, the bones remaining few, none longer than 4 or 5 inches. Close to these were deposited two bronze daggers, part of a knife dagger, and two very elegant oval gold ornaments, stamped with a three-line and two-line encircling pattern, and the larger one with a very pretty pointed pattern on the edge of the side. Also a small bronze celt of early pattern; on this is still adhering a small piece of textile fabric. At 6 inches deep a cairn of stones was reached of 7 feet perpendicular in the centre and 13 feet diameter near its base. In this was an interment, an imperfect skeleton, the upper part of the skull showing a low, narrow forehead and large posterior development; enough of the teeth and upper jaw to show that it was a person of not more than twenty-one years of age. This skeleton was protected by flat stones from the Portland beds near, and was an enclosure of not more than 3 feet in length. Close to the skeleton was a fine bronze dagger of 7 inches in length. After the removal of the cairn of stones the chalk beneath was found to have been moved, and 2 feet under a slab of Portland stone was reached, forming the covering of a stone chest or Kistvaen, containing a very decayed and disconnected skeleton. The top stone was 8 inches thick, 4 feet broad, and 5 feet long, weighing about a ton. Two of the stones comprising the sides were 4 feet and 3½ feet, forming an enclosure of 4 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 2 feet high, the whole resting on the hard chalk at a depth of 18 feet from the outside soil. Among the moved stones and material were found a small perforated stone hammer, seven sided, showing horizontal lines in the perforation; a bone ornament with four small cut perforations, probably for rivets, and a cut narrow oblong perforation in the centre; part of a flint polished stone celt, a double cut flint saw, flint scrapers, and a bone needle.

The *Vossische Zeitung* reports that quite lately, when the foundations were being cleared for a building close to the St. Sophia Church at Kief, the workmen came on some weapons, coloured earthenware, and an urn, all in excellent condition. The urn contained a set of ornaments for a woman, in perfect preservation, the importance of which consists less in their antiquity (probably the tenth or eleventh century) than in their completeness. The urn was well fastened, and had evidently never been disturbed since the possessor hid away from enemies her most valuable effects. Along with other articles there were nine old square silver coins known as "grivna." There is a complete head-dress, consisting of a lace work of indescribable intricacy, but which has been kept in its original posi-

tion by silver plates to which it is sewn, so that one can see how a well-to-do Russian woman of the pre-Tartaric times adorned herself. The silver plates are oblong, surrounding the head and forming a sort of diadem. A quantity of silver and gold pendants hung all round from these plates; the pendants which would come over the ears being much larger than the others. There were silver bracelets and necklaces; and a gold ring, which is not soldered, but welded, and probably belongs even to an older date than the other objects. There was a considerable quantity of other silver and gold ornaments, chiefly pendants, many of which show extremely fine filagree work. The larger gold objects are of the class known as *cloisonné* work. All the ornaments show finish and taste; and if they are of native origin, they are evidence of the perfection to which the arts had been brought in Russia nine centuries ago.

The manorial rights of the manor of Graveney, Staines, have been purchased by Mr. John Ashby, banker. They include the ownership of the produce of the Staines Lammas from the 25th of March until the following 12th of August, the parishioners of Staines, after the latter date, having the right of turning out cattle until the next Lady-day. Mr. Ashby has recently had the Lammas fenced in, and this action has caused a great deal of annoyance to many of the townspeople. Printed notices were distributed about Staines, intimating that unless the fences were removed by a certain date they would be pulled down, and Mr. Ashby obtained an injunction to restrain any person from interfering with or injuring them. However, a number of people assembled upon the Lammas at daybreak, and although the police were present, the whole of the fences were taken down by half-past seven o'clock.

A report from the Museum, Muniment, and Library Committee of Colchester has recently been adopted by the Corporation, stating that, owing to the indisposition of Mr. Stevens, sen., Messrs. Stevens and Son have been compelled to postpone from time to time the preparation of the catalogue of Archbishop Harsnett's library, and altogether to abandon the work. Under these circumstances the assistance of Mr. Bullen, of the British Museum, has again been sought, and under that gentleman's advice, the Committee have had an interview, at the library, with Mr. Gordon Goodwin, of South Norwood, London, who is willing to prepare the catalogue during the month of September, and complete it in four weeks.

A discovery of Roman pavement has been made during this week in Sarah Street, Old Bath Lane, Leicester, a neighbourhood which has already proved itself to be rich in relics of archaeological interest. This latest discovery was made while excavating for the purpose of building a cellar upon premises the property of the Rev. Mr. Fuller, and occupied by Messrs. Kempson and Howell. The pavement, which measures about 12 or 14 feet by 3 or 4 feet, is in a capital state of preservation, and the pattern is very distinct, the tesserae being rather coarse. It is of a very much plainer description than that enclosed by the Corporation in Jewry Wall Street, and from its

being below the level of the surface of the river, and considerably lower down than that in Jewry Wall Street, it is supposed to have once formed part of the floor of some old Roman baths. It is very possible that further discoveries will be made during the course of the alterations, and it is to be hoped that steps will be taken to ensure the preservation of this most interesting relic. The local Archaeological Society are taking steps to have the excavation continued, so as, if possible, to expose further portions which it is hoped exist.

Mr. W. R. Douthwaite, the librarian of Gray's Inn, has in the press a work on the history and associations of that ancient foundation from its institution to the present day, compiled from original and unpublished documents. It will contain many details of archaeological, biographical, and historical interest respecting the ancient constitution of Gray's Inn, its eminent members, and distinguished residents within its precincts. Among the illustrations will be views of South Square, Field Court, the Gate House in Holborn, and Barnard's Inn and Staple Inn, which were Inns of Chancery allied to Gray's Inn. The windows of the old dining-hall, with the shields borne by successive generations of members, are explained by diagrams, accompanied by a complete list of names of members. A list is added of the Readers and other eminent persons connected with the Inn, whose armorial bearings as depicted in an unpublished Harleian manuscript will be given in blazon. The list of peers, temporal and spiritual, who belonged to the Inn in the latter half of the sixteenth century contains many of the most illustrious names in British history, while among the lawyers who received their training there are Bacon and Holt. A chapter of exceptional interest will be that on masques and revels, of which there were many of great significance during the reign of Elizabeth, who appears to have held Gray's Inn in special favour.

The freehold estate of Ankerwycke, in Buckinghamshire, was recently offered for sale at the City Auction Mart, Tokenhouse Yard. Included in the sale was Magna Charta Island, the scene of the famous meeting between King John and the barons and prelates of England. The island contains a handsome residence, on the walls of the reception-room being painted the shields and arms of the barons. The reserved price not having been touched the property was withdrawn. It was then submitted in twelve separate lots; but except in one instance the prices tendered were not deemed sufficient, and in the interests of the vendors the eleven lots were also withdrawn.

The parish church of Cottam, Lincolnshire, has been reopened after restoration. This church was, together with the adjoining church of Littleborough, one of the earliest Christian edifices erected by the Saxons when they advanced by the Humber and the Trent; and though the principal features of Cottam church are Norman, there is very little doubt from the masonry that the commencement of the building must have been made in Saxon times. The church is of the usual plain Saxon type, without aisles or



chancel. The walls are of great thickness, with a range of three irregular shaped windows on the north side. At the east end is a large external *quasi*-chancel arch, formed in the thickness of the wall, in which is inserted a three-light window with square head. An ancient stone, inserted in the south wall, contains the inscription, "727—1794," and probably refers to the foundation of the church in 727, and to a restoration in 1794. The present roof was probably put up then to replace an older one. Inside the chancel a tombstone, apparently of gypsum or alabaster, now forms the footplace for the latter. This, with a very fine Norman doorway in the porch, with unusually deep zigzag mouldings, are the only architectural features of the building, which up to recently must have been a mere barn.

That it behoves those engaged in the study of archaeology and numismatics to be very careful with the term "prehistoric," seems to have been demonstrated by M. Robert in one of the meetings of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, held at the end of August. He showed some coins found in a piece of "prehistoric" earthenware or pottery, declared to be beyond the reach of historical explanation. This crude earthen pot has been found in Languedoc, in the reservoir of the Garonne. But these silver coins are imitations of the Iberian drachm, and belong to the class of Gallic coins which have been called *à la croix*, dating from the year 120, under Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus (Robert: *Numismatique de la province Languedoc*). Under this category of so-called "prehistoric" discoveries can be classed the polished stones which were used as axes, hammers, and even as sling stones, *armes* or *pierres de jet*, for the coins lying close by these stones prove evidently that both stones as well as coins belong to the eighth and ninth century after Christ. The last discovery was made by French soldiers during the Crimean War, on the high plateau before Sebastopol.

A new scheme for swindling curiosity-hunters and collectors of *bric-à-brac* has lately been set on foot in Paris. A few days ago an old coffin was dug up by some of the men engaged in excavation in the Rue de Béarn. By its side were found some old swords, which are supposed to have belonged to Knights Templars. Since these discoveries several *chevaliers d'industrie* have been going about Paris selling antiquarian curiosities which they allege to have been dug up in the Rue de Béarn. Their dupes have been remarkably numerous. One of these latter lately received a visit from some of the swindlers and bought for £4 a rusty helmet and sword which, according to the statements of the vendors, had undoubtedly belonged to some baron bold or Knight Templar of the Middle Ages. But they were pronounced to be articles of theatrical "property," which had been plunged into some chemical preparation.

The little two-arched bridge over the Cherwell, at Cropredy, has been reported to the Banbury District Highway Board as out of repair, one of its arches requiring renewal. A highway board is only interested in such a structure so far as it serves the purpose of crossing a stream within its jurisdiction, and fears are entertained that the Board will order

such reconstruction of the bridge as will completely obliterate its character. The bridge must have substantial repairs to make it safe for traffic. The cheapest mode of effecting these will cost, it is supposed, about £250. An equal sum to this—and surely there is sufficient interest among English people to contribute it—would enable the architect both to conserve its original character and execute the repairs in stone instead of brick. The ancient bridge at Cropredy was rebuilt, in answer to an appeal of John d'Alderby, Bishop of Lincoln (in whose diocese it was then situated), in the year 1312, and a portion of the structure seems to be of that period. The buttressed angle projecting up the stream was repaired in 1691, and bears that date upon it, while the western arch was built in 1780. It is the old arch on the east side which is in a dangerous state. A considerable part of the cost of the repairs is due to the necessity for providing a temporary means of crossing the stream during the reconstruction of the arch. It was across this bridge, on Sunday morning, October 23, 1642, that King Charles rode to his first battle, fought that afternoon at Edgehill, and two years later it formed the key of the position in the fierce struggle which bears its name, when the king in person here engaged Waller on June 29, 1644.

The workmen engaged in taking down the tower of the parish church, Ashton-under-Lyne, came upon a stone on which were carved the letters "L E" and the figures "1413." As nothing could be made of this inscription the stone was left among a heap of others in the churchyard, and nothing further was thought about it till another stone was subsequently found containing what proves to be the first part of the inscription. This, in its complete form, consists of the name, carved in Old English letters, of Alexander Hyle, with the date 1413. Before the Christian name there is a representation of a butcher's cleaver, and between the Christian name and surname an imitation of a "five of spades" playing-card. The relic is greatly exercising the minds of local antiquaries, some of whom think it confirmatory of a tradition connected with the building of the first tower in 1413. One form of this tradition is that during that erection a butcher bearing the above name was on one occasion playing cards with some companions near the church, and vowed that he would himself build a foot of the tower if the dealer turned up the "five of spades." This having been done, Hyle performed his vow, and had his name and the emblem of his trade carved upon one of the stones. It is supposed that this is the very stone recently found, and that it has been re-inserted in two rebuildings of the tower, the last of which took place in or about the year 1820.

A very handsome Romano-British vase or urn was dug up during October in St. Peter's, Chusell Street, without the old mural boundary of Winchester. It was found by the workmen of Mr. Giles Pointer, a careful regarnder of the relics of the past. It was some nine feet under the surface, surrounded, the workmen said, by blocks of chalk and fragments of unburnt human bones; and but for a small injury from the modern pickaxe it is perfect.

One of the most valuable "finds" made in Cornwall for the past few years was made a short time ago at St. Gulval parish church (near Penzance) during some restoration works in the chancel. It is a very ancient sculptured granite pillar, with antique carving of a singular pattern. The only letters deciphered on it are "J. A.," which at first glance may be supposed to connect it with the famous St. Ja, an Irish saint who was martyred near here by the heathen king Pendar about A.D. 450. The Royal Institution of Cornwall has visited the spot, and we hope to give the decision of local archaeologists in our next number.

Messrs. Linkskill and G. Bruce are at present conducting excavations in a line with the large passage leading from the Castle at St. Andrews, in the hope of ultimately reaching the Cathedral, and bringing to light the plate used at the dedication service when Robert the Bruce was present in 1318. Another discovery of minor importance has just been brought to light by Mr. David Loudon, schoolmaster of Morham, in East Lothian—himself a native and enthusiastic antiquary—in the shape of one of the keys of the city, which he has had photographed by G. Rodger same size as the original. It is at present in the possession of Mr. A. Kay, North Castle Street.

At the meeting of the Worksoop Local Board on 12th October a letter was read from Mr. Haslam, the Duke of Newcastle's agent, with reference to the Priory Gate-house at Worksoop and its unsafe condition. The letter stated that if the Board was satisfied that the Gate-house is unsafe the Duke will do what is needful to protect it, but, at the same time, the Board should take care that too heavily laden vehicles do not pass under. The Duke is very anxious that the Gate-house should be preserved to the town of Worksoop, and is willing to assist the town in the matter. With that view Mr. Haslam has proposed to his Grace to divert the roadway, and place the Gate-house where it ought to be—within the precincts of the churchyard. The Duke has been endeavouring to purchase the land that would be required, but owing to the high price asked for the Cross Keys Inn he has not been able to attain his object. If he can purchase at the price he has proposed he is prepared to give the land necessary for the new roadway, the Board giving up the old land for the purpose of adding to the churchyard, and also making the new road. It was afterwards stated that Mr. Garside and the Prior Well Brewery Company were willing to make a considerable sacrifice to meet the wishes of the town.

The re-opening services at Westbere Church, Canterbury, have now been brought to a close. The church is a building of very great antiquity, but the openings are of the middle of the fourteenth century, the windows having characteristic Kentish tracery. There are elegant pedilla and much remarkable ancient carving in the building, all of which has been preserved. The works have been carried out by Mr. Wilson, of Canterbury, from the designs and under the superintendence of Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock.

During the progress of the works a great number of fragments of fourteenth-century glass, removed from the church several years, were discovered in an attic, and have been inserted in the church windows.



## Correspondence.

### THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH.

[*Ante*, p. 168.]

In an article under the above heading in the October issue of the *Antiquary*, by Mr. W. M. Brooks, occurs an important error. He says: "In Great Driffield Church, just restored, lies the eminent St. John of Beverley, where there is a fine monument and effigy over the tomb."

This is altogether wrong: St. John never had anything to do with Driffield, either when living or after his death, excepting that he was born at Harpham, a village in the neighbourhood; nor has he either there or elsewhere an effigied tomb. He was Archbishop of York from 705 to 717, when he resigned his office and retired to a monastery he had founded at Beverley, where he died in 721, and was buried in the porch. His relics were afterwards translated to the Minster or Collegiate Church, and placed on a golden shrine, which became eventually, from the donations of pilgrims who had been witnesses of the miracles there, a perfect blaze of gems.

With respect to the site of the battle of Brunanburgh, there can be no doubt, from the fact of Athelstane calling at Beverley and York on his road thither, as well as on his return, that it lay northward of those towns—most probably, from circumstantial evidence, in Northumberland, not far from the walls of Barnborough; the conjectures placing it in Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and Cheshire being wild guesses, unsupported by any reliable evidence, and at variance with such records as we have in the ancient chronicles.

Although Driffield cannot boast of possessing the tomb of St. John, tradition and the Anglo-Saxon chronicles tell us that it was the burial-place of Alfred (or Alchfrid), King of Northumbria, who received his death-wound in a battle (it is presumed with the Picts) at Eborston, near Scarborough, where there is a cave into which he is said to have fled for refuge, after being wounded, still bearing the name of "Ilfrid's Hole." He is reported to have had a palace at Driffield, on one of two mounds at the north end of the town, where there are foundations of an ancient building. The other mound is called Moot-hill, round which the folk-mote assembled on public occasions, to hear proclamations of new laws, and discuss questions that came within the scope of their

consideration. Leland, temp. Henry VIII., speaks of his tomb as being then to be seen, and Camden refers to his monument then extant.

FREDK. ROSS.

London.

from those of a more recent time. I transcribed them for that purpose several years ago. Whenever the book appears, I shall endeavour to give all that is known about Saint Sunday in a note on the passage I quote.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

Bottesford Manor, Brigg.

#### OLD SCOTCH GENEALOGIES.

Alexander Deuchar, the seal-engraver, author of *British Crests*, a genealogical writer of the chiefs of the battle of Bannockburn, as well as on the early histories of the families of Angus, Aytoun, Blair, Carmichael, Cameron, Crawford, Drummond, Farquhar, French, Hamilton, Hay, Hume, Graham, Grant, Johnstone, Lindsay, Mackenzie, Majoribank, Mowbray, Murray, Nisbet, Robertson, Scott, Sinclair, Southerland, Thomson, Wallace, and many others, left these genealogies in manuscript, as indicated in John Camden Hotten's *Hand Book to the Topography and Family History of England and Wales*, from pp. 336 to 357.

Can anyone give me a list of those published, and where the balance is to be found, including the manuscript entitled "*French Family*—genealogical collection relative to the name of French, folio, 1843"? Any information will be gladly received in the interest of genealogy.

SCOTLAND.

#### THE HUNTERS MANOR.

Had the earthwork at Little Weldon in what is called the "Hall close" any connection with the Hunters Manor at Little Weldon, spoken of in the *Antiquary* some time back?

H.

Fontenoy Road, Balham, 2nd October, 1885.

#### SAINT SUNDAY.

[*Ante*, p. 159.]

There was in the middle of the seventeenth century a gate at Drogheda called "Saint Sunday's." Oliver Cromwell, in his letter to William Lenthall, the Speaker of the Long Parliament, dated from Dublin, 17th of September, 1649, says, "About 100 of them [the Royalists] possessed St. Peter's church-steeple; some the west gate, and others a strong round tower next the gate called St. Sundays."—Carlyle's *Cromwell*, ed. 1865; vol. ii. p. 53.

In the "Churchwarden's Account Book of Louth," Lincolnshire, the following entry occurs under the year 1535, "For a hooke of yron to saint sonday pycture *id.*" It has been suggested that Saint Sunday is the English form of Saint Dominic. Unless proof can be given of this we may dismiss it as an unlikely conjecture. The Louth churchwarden's accounts have never been published, though some extracts have seen the light, transcribed by a gentleman who could read old handwriting but very imperfectly. I have every intention of publishing the earlier years in full, and of giving copious extracts

#### MAIDEN LANE.

[*Ante*, p. 135.]

Surely a superfluous amount of energy has been brought to bear upon the derivation of this unimportant thoroughfare. To suggest a Celtic origin for the name of a street which in all probability was not in existence 350 years ago seems to me the height of futility. Mr. J. J. Foster's theory mentioned in your September number, that "Maiden Lane under other names is continued right into the City," unfortunately is incorrect as a matter of fact.

There ought not to be much difficulty about the matter. The archives of the Russell family, I have little doubt, will show when the street was laid out—probably not long after the grant to that family of the Convent Garden. If it was in existence before then, it was probably a back lane running between the said garden and the back of one of the great houses on the north side of the Strand; and, if so, I would suggest that it may have been called originally "Midden" or Dunghill Lane—an unsavoury derivation, certainly; but, to my mind, more likely than any connected with either cells or convents.

J. C. L. STAHLSCHMIDT.

#### PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES.

The letter of Mr. Lach-Szyrma is well worth the consideration of antiquaries. In this so-called age of progress, "Vandalism" is rampant nowhere more than in Britain. Men like the Marquis of Bute are few and far between.

One of the chief reasons of the neglect and destruction of old buildings is the fact that the land is passing from the hands of the old families, who have long held it, into the possession of wealthy brewers and merchants, generally having no taste for the picturesque and the antique. Nevertheless, these should be prevented from destroying the old castles and manors on their estates. Much might be done by the public themselves towards the preservation of old buildings. Such a proposal as that to celebrate the anniversary of the Battle of Bosworth by restoring the old church overlooking the scene is a very wise one, and should be carried out.

I sincerely hope that your correspondent's opportune letter will be considered, and its advice followed.

J. A. FRASER.

Cambridge, 14th October, 1885.

## The Antiquary Exchange.

*Enclose ad. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.*

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

### FOR SALE.

A few old Poesy Rings for sale.—Apply to 265, care of Manager.

Roman Imperial Denarii. A collection of sixty-three to be disposed of. Only one specimen of each Emperor. Fine condition. Price £13.—W. Davis, 23, Suffolk Street, Birmingham.

For sale, a curious manuscript pedigree of the Earls of Pembroke, dated 1628. Also for disposal a number of quaint old books, etc.—D. G. G., Buildwas, Ironbridge, Salop.

Copies of 222 Marriage Registers from the parish book of St. Mary's Church in Whittlesey, in the Isle of Ely and County of Cambridge, 1662-72; 1880, 10 pp., 1s. 6d. A copy of the Names of all the Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials which have been solemnized in the private chapel of Somerset House, Strand, in the County of Middlesex, extending from 1714 to 1776, with an index and copious genealogical notes; 36 pp. and wrapper, 1862, 2s. 6d. Dr. Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry, with a bibliography of his works; reprinted with additions and corrections from the Palatine Note Book, by John Ingle Dredge (not published); 1882, 12 pp., with wrapper, 2s. 6d. Dr. George Downame, Bishop of Derry, by Rev. John Ingle Dredge; 1881, 14 pp. and wrapper (not published), 2s. 6d.—119, care of Manager.

Some very fine old Mourning and curious Gold and Silver Rings for sale.—282, care of Manager.

Phallicism, Celestial and Terrestrial, Heathen and Christian; its Connexion with the Rosicrucians and the Gnostics, and its Foundation in Buddhism, with an Essay on Mystic Anatomy, by Hargrave Jennings; with Illustrated Supplement. Price 25s. nett.—191, care of Manager.

Choice Illustrated Works at low prices for cash. Gray's Elegy (Lippincott, 1883), 4to, artist's edition, India proofs, copy No. 131; 500 only printed, of which 100 only were issued for sale in England. £3 3s. nett. Gray's Elegy (Elliot Stock, 1884), small 4to, large paper, 50 copies only printed. Very scarce. £1 5s. nett. Hamilton Palace Collection. Priced Illustrated Sale Catalogue. 4to, cloth. Published at £2 2s.; uncut, £1 nett. English Etchings (Reeves). Parts 1 to 12. Good impressions. Clean and new. £1 15s. nett.—Apply by letter only to J. Cleare, Clapton Pavement, Lower Clapton, London, E.

Guillim's Heraldry, 2 vols. 8vo, 1726-8. Court-hope's Extinct Baronetage. Collins's Peerage, vols. 6 and 7. Seyer's Bristol Charters, 1812.—Apply to 276, care of Manager.

Ejected Minister's Farewell Sermons, 1663, 12s. 6d. Ayscough's Lyttleton, 6s. Doddridge's Hymns, by Job Orton. 1st edition, 1755, 10s. 6d. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, 1838, 10s. Watson's Biblical Dic-

tionary, 1833, 6s. Bayly's Wall Flower, 1650, 15s.—T. Forster, Rawstorn Road, Colchester.

First 6 volumes *Antiquary*, 4 unbound. Bound folio of 30 facsimiles, 11 of which copied and coloured by Dr. Adam Clarke, with autograph letter of presentation; only one other set of these in existence. 35 County maps of England, date 1608. London Directory, 1802, etc.—Particulars from Geo. C. Newstead, Aughton, near Ormskirk.

First 10 volumes of *The Antiquary*, bound Roxburgh, complete, good condition.—Apply K., Cammack Cottage, Sleaford.

Silver Coins.—Charles II. sixpence; Charles II. penny; James II. 1687 threepenny bit; Queen Anne 1713 threepenny bit; George II. 1745 shilling; George III. 1797 shilling; George IV. 1821 groat. What offers?—W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

*The Manager wishes to draw attention to the fact that he cannot undertake to forward POST CARDS, or letters, unless a stamp be sent to cover postage of same to advertiser.*

### WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Dorsetshire Seventeenth Century Tokens. Also Topographical Works, Cuttings or Scraps connected with the county.—J. S. Udall, the Manor House, Symondsburys, Bridport.

Memoirs of the Parish Church of Gillingham, Kent, by Leach, 1868.—272, care of Manager.

Carl Werner's Views in the Holy Land, a good copy wanted, and a fair price offered.—Reports by Letter only to M. W., care of Manager.

Rambles in the Isle of Sheppey, by Henry T. A. Turmine (native Minister), with historical notes by Jas. Bennett, 1843, pp. 91. The Benefactor. The Congregational Economist.—119, care of Manager.

Will any gentleman possessing old letters bearing the stamps of any countries not European, the older the better, and willing to part with them, kindly communicate with Edward Hawkins, Esq., Beyton, Suffolk?

Wanted, Ancient Almanacs antedating 1800. Address, stating price, to 280, care of Manager.

Folk Lore Record, vols. 1, 2, 4, 5, and parts 1 and 2 of vol. 3; The Poets' Harvest Home, being one hundred short poems by William Bell Scott, Elliot Stock, 1882.—W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

Shipley's Views in the South Pacific; MacLean Haynes' Monumental Brasses; Mercer's Narrative of the Battle of Waterloo (a good copy); Hales' Essays on Tithes.—M., care of Manager.

The Gentleman's Magazine, vols. for 1847, 1849, part 2; 1855, 1856, part 1.—W. E. Morden, Lower Tooting, S.W.

East Kent Poll Book for the General Election in July, 1852, published by Whittaker and Co., London.—191, care of Manager.

Scot.—(Reynolds). Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden and necessarie instructions for the making thereof. Black Letter Woodcuts. 1578. H. Denham, 283, care of Manager.

Wanted to purchase, Marson's Milton. Large paper edition, published by Macmillan.—100, care of Manager.

Life of Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn Law Rhymers, born 1789, died 1849.—100, care of Manager.